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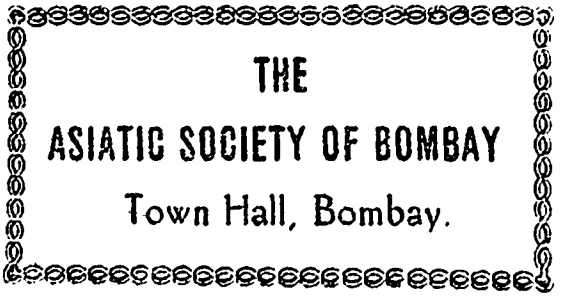

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TO THE

HOPE OF ENGLAND,

ITS

YOUNG GENTRY,

Is moſt humbly Dedicated

THE HONOUR OF IT,

ITS

ANCIENT STATESMEN:

A Renowned Anceſtry

TO

An Honourable Poſterity.

David Lloyd.

TO THE

READER.

Courteous Reader,

FOR beſtowing ſome *vacant* hours (by that *excellent Perſonages direction*, to whom I am *equally* obliged for my *Employment* and my *Leaſure)* in an attempt *ſo* agreeable to the lord Verulam's judgment, which may be ſeen in the *next page*; and *ſo purſuant* of ſir Robert Naunton's deſigne, which may be traced in the *following Book*; another perſon's abilities might have gained *applauſe*, and my weakneſs may *deſerve* an excuſe, notwithſtanding *my years*, (if yet any man be too *young* to *read* and *obſerve)* or my [illegible]*on* (if yet a divine ſhould not (as times be) as well read in *Men*, as *Books* :) eſpecially ſince I gratifie to man's *fondneſs*, writing not a *Panegyrick*, but an *Hiſtory*: nor pleaſure any perſons *malice*; deſigning

Obſer-

Obſervations, rather than *Invectives*: nor tyre any man's *patience*: ſetting down rather the remarkes of mens publick capacities, than the minute paſſages of their *private* lives: but innocently diſcourſe the moſt choice inſtances our ENGLISH hiſtories afford for the three great qualifications of men (1. Nobleneſſe in behaviour: 2. Dexterity in buſineſs; and 3. Wiſdome in government) among which are twenty-eight ſecretaries of ſtate, eight chancellours, eighteen lord treaſurers, ſixteen chamberlains, who entertain gentlemen with obſervations becoming their extraction, and their hopes, touching,

1. The riſe of ſtates-men.
2. The beginning of families.
3. The method of greatneſs.
4. The conduct of courtiers.
5. The miſcarriages of favourites, and what-ever may make them either *wiſe* or *wary*.

The chancellour of France had a picture that to a common eye ſhewed many little heads, and they were his *Anceſtors*; but to the

the more curious repreſented onely one great one, and that was his *own*.

It's intended that this book ſhould to the *vulgar* read or expreſs ſeveral particulars, *i.e.* all this laſt ages *Heroes*; but to every gentleman it ſhould intimate onely one, and that *is himſelf*.

It's eaſily imaginable how unconcerned I am in the fate of this book, either in the hiſtory, or the obſervation; ſince I have been ſo faithful in the firſt, that is not my own, but the *Hiſtorians*; and ſo *careful* in the ſecond, that they are not mine, but the *Hiſtories*.

DAVID LLOYD.

The Lord Bacon's *Judgment of a Work of this nature.*

HISTORY, which may be called juſt and perfect hiſtory, is of three kinds, according to the object it propoundeth, or pretendeth to repreſent; for it either repreſenteth a time, a perſon, or an action. The firſt we call chronicles, the ſecond lives, and the third narrations, or relations.

Of theſe; although the firſt be the moſt compleat and abſolute kind of hiſtory, and hath moſt eſtimation and glory; yet the ſecond excelleth it in profit and uſe; and the third in verity and ſincerity. For hiſtory of times repreſenteth the magnitude of actions, and the publick faces or deportments of perſons, and paſſeth over in ſilence the ſmaller paſſages and motions of men and matters.

But ſuch being the workmanſhip of God, as he doth hang the greateſt weight upon the

the ſmalleſt wyars, *Maxima é minimis ſuſpendens*; it comes therefore to paſs, that ſuch hiſtories do rather ſet forth the pomp of buſineſs, than the true and inward reſorts thereof. But lives, if they be well written, propounding to themſelves a perſon to repreſent, in whom actions both greater and ſmaller, publick and private, have a commixture, muſt of neceſſity contain a more true, native, and lively repreſentation.

I do much admire that theſe times have ſo little eſteemed the vertues of the times, as that the writing of *Lives* ſhould be no more frequent. For although there be not many ſoveraign princes, or abſolute commanders, and that ſtates are moſt collected into monarchies; yet are there many worthy perſonages that deſerve better than diſperſed report, or barren elogies: for herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well inrich the ancient fiction. For he fayneth, that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life, there was a little medal containing the perſon's name; and that

that *Time* waiteth upon the *Sheers*, and as ſoon as the thread was cut, caught the medals and carried them to the river *Lethe*; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals, and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river. Onely there were a few ſwans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple where it was conſecrate.

PREFACE

TO THIS

NEW EDITION.

AFTER the approbation of ſo great a judge as lord Bacon, of works of this nature, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon the utillity of the treatiſe, or to inforce what has been mentioned by him. It remains therefore only to give an account of the Author whoſe book I have taken the liberty to re-print.

As to the Author;—David Lloyd, ſon of Hugh Lloyd, was born at Pant Mawr in the pariſh of Trawſvinydd, in Merionithſhire, on the 28th of Sept. 1635, educated in the free-ſchool at Ruthen in Denbighſhire, became a ſervitor of Oriel Coll. in 1652, (at which time and after he performed the office of *Janitor* of the ſaid Coll.) took one degree in arts, and by the favour of the warden

den and ſociety of Merton Coll. became rector of a ſmall town called Ibſton near Watlington in the dioceſe of Oxon, in the beginning of May, 1658. In the next year he proceeded in arts, but keeping Ibſton not long, he went to London, and became reader of the Charter-houſe under Dr. Tim. Thurſcroſs. Afterwards he retired to Wales and became chaplain to Dr. If. Barrow, biſhop of St. Aſaph, who, beſides ſeveral preferments in that dioceſe, gave him a canonry in the ſaid church, in which he was inſtituted 26 Auguſt, 1670. On the 14th of Auguſt 1671, he was made vicar of Abergeley, and on the ſame day, as is ſuppoſed, prebend of Vaynol in the ſaid church of St. Aſaph, at which time he reſigned his canonry to Mr. Rich. Turbridge. Afterwards he exchanged Abergeley for the vicaridge of Northop in Flintſhire, where ſetling, he taught the Free-ſchool, and continued there till towards his latter end. Finding his health decay about half a year before he died, he retired to the place of his nativity, and expired the 16. February 1691.

As

As to the work, it is wrote in a ſhort, conciſe, nervous ſtile, with an agreeable and lively humour; and however truly adapted the characters may be to the perſons they are deſign'd for, they certainly repreſent pleaſing pictures of human life, upon that account will deſerve the reading of all perſons, who wiſh to edify by books. In regard to the part I have taken, it is no otherwiſe than tranſlating the Latin ſentences, of which it abounds, and was the faſhion of thoſe times; and this for the ſake of the ladies, who will I dare ſay find their time well beſtowed in the peruſal. But the greateſt inducement to re-print it, was the deſire of a lady of diſtinction, whoſe taſte and judgement are ſufficiently known by thoſe who are ſo happy as to be admitted to her converſation; and as I had the honour of being commiſſioned by her to buy the book, I found it ſo ſcarce, that I thought I could not give the publick more ſatisfaction, than being the means of making it more univerſally diſpers'd, by a new edition: particularly as I have had the ſatisfaction to hear a moſt ingenious and right reverend Prelate, and a

Lay-

Layman of great taſte and diſtinction, commend the work, as containing uſeful annecdotes, and obſervations not to be found elſewhere; and in the elegant compilations of Mr. Walpole, Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſis, and the Biographia Britannia, are numberleſs references and extracts, which which give great credit and authenticity to our author: to illuſtrate the characers the more, I have ſelected thoſe of the reſpective monarchs from Rapin and other impartial hiſtorians; which, it is preſum'd, will throw a greater light upon thoſe of the ſtateſmen and favourites of each reign. I wiſh it may have the effect of making men more in love with the hiſtory of their own country, and better acquainted with themſelves; for among the variety every perſon may ſee ſomething that may be of ſervice to him. To the ſecond Volume I have added an *Appendix*, containing ſome lives extracted from *Winſtanley's Worthies*; which, tho' they may not perhaps be wrote with the ſpirit and conciſeneſs of Lloyd's, yet may properly accompany his, and go nearer to compleat

a cata-

a catalogue to the Revolution. As bringing the characters to a later period, would employ much more time and attention than I have to ſpare, yet if any manuſcripts ſhould have been compiled of that ſort and in private poſſeſſion, I will very readily give my aſſiſtance to tranſmit them to the publick. My diſtance from the preſs, and employing myſelf in a more extenſive publication, may have occaſioned ſome trifling typographical errors, and omiſſions, which I hope the judicious reader will excuſe: he may depend upon this, that I have kept literally to the diction of my author, as otherwiſe it would not properly be his: the purchaſers therefore may be aſſured of every ſyllable being the ſame as in the old edition, ſince changing the expreſſion often changes the thought, and I was willing to let it ſtand upon its own legs, ſenſible of my inability to give it any ſupport.

C. W.

STATE-WORTHIES,

OR, THE

States-Men and Favourites of England,

IN

The Reign of King HENRY VIII.

Lord HERBERT's Character of HENRY the VIII.

KING Henry's life being commonly held various and diverſe from itſelf, will hardly ſuffer any character or deſcription. Howbeit, ſince others have ſo much defamed him, as will appear by the following objections, I ſhall ſtrive to rectifie their underſtandings who are impartiall lovers of truth; without either preſuming audaciouſly to condemn a prince, heretofore ſoveraign of our kingdom, or omitting the juſt freedom of an hiſtorian. Hen. 8.

And becauſe his moſt bitter cenſurers agree, that he had all manner of perfection either of nature or education; and that he was (beſides)

Hen. 8. of a moſt deep judgement in all affairs to which he applyed himſelf; a prince not onely liberall and indulgent to his family, and court, and even to ſtrangers, whom he willingly ſaw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the clergy, and of wiſe and grave counſellors for his ſtate affairs; and above all, a prince of a royall courage: I ſhall not controvert theſe points, but come to my particular obſervations. According to which, I finde him to have been ever moſt zealous of his honour and dignity; inſomuch, that his moſt queſtioned paſſages were countenanced either with home or forraign authority: ſo many univerſities of Italy and France maintaining his repudiating of queen Katherin of Spain; and his parliament (for the reſt) authorizing the divorces and decapitations of his following wives, the diſſolutions of the monaſteries, and divers others of his moſt branded actions: ſo that by his parliaments in publick, and juries in private affairs, he at leaſt wanted not colour and pretext to make them ſpecious to the world; which alſo he had reaſon to affect: outward eſteem and reputation being the ſame to great perſons which the ſkin is to the fruit, which though it be but a ſlight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will preſently diſcolour and rot.

As for matter of ſtate, I dare ſay, never prince went upon a truer maxime for this kingdom; which was, to make himſelf arbiter of chriſtendom: and had it not coſt him ſo much, none had ever proceeded more wiſely. But as he would be an actor (for the moſt part) where he needed onely be a ſpectator, he both engaged himſelf

himſelf beyond what was requiſite, and by call- Hen. 8.
ing in the money he lent his confederates and allyes, did often diſoblige them when he had moſt need of their friendſhip. Yet thus he was the moſt active prince of his time. The examples whereof are ſo frequent in his hiſtory, that there was no treaty, or almoſt conventicle in chriſtendom, wherein he had not his particular agent and intereſt; which, together with his intelligence in all countries, and concerning all affairs, and the penſions given for that purpoſe, was one of his vaſt ways for ſpending of money.

Again, I obſerve, that there never was prince more delighted in interviews, or (generally) came off better from them. To which alſo, as his goodly perſonage and excellent qualities did much diſpoſe him, ſo they gave him a particular advantage and luſtre. Howbeit, as theſe voyages were extreme coſtly, ſo when he made uſe thereof to conclude a treaty, it did not always ſucceed; eſpecially where credit was yeelded to any ſingle and private word. Inſomuch, that at his laſt being with Francis (where he intended, upon his bare promiſe, *lier la partie* for the moſt important affairs of chriſtendom) he found himſelf ſo much fruſtrated and deceived.

At home it was his manner to treat much with his parliaments; where, if gentle means ſerved not, he came to ſome degrees of the rough: though more ſparingly, that he knew his people did but too much fear him. Beſides, he underſtood well, that fowl wayes are not always paſſable, nor to be uſed (eſpecially in ſuſpected and dangerous times) but where others fail. How-

Hen. 8. ever, it may be noted, that none of his predeceſſours underſtood the temper of parliaments better then himſelf, or that prevailed himſelf more dexteriouſly of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the raſher ſort, he would give them that leave, which all new things muſt have, to ſettle. Which being done, his next care was to diſcover and prevent thoſe privie combinations that were not for his ſervice. After which, coming to the point of contribution, he generally took ſtrict order, (by his commiſſioners) that gentlemen in the country ſhould not ſpare each other; but that the true or (at leaſt) neer approaching value of every mans goods and lands ſhould be certified. And this hee did the rather, becauſe hee knew the cuſtome of his people was to reckon with him about their ſubſidies, and indeed rather to number, then to weigh their gifts.

As for his faults, I finde that of opiniate and wilfull much objected: inſomuch, that the impreſſions privately given him by any Court-whiſperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the perſons neer him had a ſingular ability; while beginning with the commendations of thoſe they would diſgrace, their manner was to inſinuate ſuch exceptions, as they would diſcommend a man more in few words, then commend him in many: doing therein like cunning wreſtlers, who to throw one down, firſt take him up. Beſides, this wilfulneſſe had a moſt dangerous quality annexed to it (eſpecially towards his later end) being an intenſe jealouſie almoſt of all perſons and affairs, which diſpoſed him eaſily

eaſily to think the worſt. Whereas it is a greater part of wiſdome to prevent, then to ſuſpect. Theſe conditions again being armed with power, produced ſuch terrible effects, as ſtiled him both at home and abroad by the name of cruell; which alſo hardly can be avoyded; eſpecially, if that attribute be due, not onely to thoſe princes who inflict capitall puniſhments frequently, and for ſmall crimes, but to thoſe who pardon not all that are capable of mercy. And for teſtimonies in this kinde, ſome urge two queens, one cardinal (*in procinctu*, at leaſt) or two (for Poole was condemned, though abſent); dukes, marqueſſes, earls, and earls ſons, twelve; barons and knights eighteen; abbots, priors, monks and prieſts ſeventy ſeven; of the more common ſort, between one religion and another, huge multitudes. Hee gave ſome proofs yet that he could forgive; though, as they were few and late, they ſerved not to recover him the name of a clement prince. As for covetouſneſſe, or rapine, another main fault obſerved by Sanders, as extending not onely to a promiſcuous overthrow of religious houſes, but a notable derogation of the title of ſupreme head of the church in his dominions: and the rather, that he ſtill retained the ſubſtance of the roman catholick religion) nothing, that I know, can on thoſe terms palliate it, unleſſe it might be collected, that the religious orders in his kingdom would have aſſiſted thoſe who threatned invaſion from abroad, and that hee had no other extraordinary means than their revenues then left to defend himſelf. For certainly, the publick pretext, taken from their exceſſive numbers in pro- Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. portion to a well compoſed ſtate, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general ſort, cannot ſufficiently excuſe him; ſince, together with the ſupernumerary and debauched abbeys, priories and nunneries, he ſubverted and extinguiſhed the good and opportune; without leaving any receptacle for ſuch as through age or infirmity being unapt for ſecular buſineſſe, would end their dayes in a devout and retired life. Nevertheleſs, as he erected divers new biſhopricks, encreaſed the number of colledges, and the ſtipend of readers in the univerſities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended ſome reparation. Though (as the roman catholick party conceives it) they were neither ſatisfactory for, nor equivalent to the deſolations and ruines hee procured, when yet he ſhould pretend that the revenues and number of the gentry and ſoldateſque of the kingdome were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing monaſteries, his parliaments were deeply engaged, it will be dangerous to queſtion the authority thereof, ſince things done by publick vote, where they finde not reaſon, make it; neither have many laws other ground then the conſtitution of the times; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtfull: inſomuch, that poſterity might juſtly abrogate them when the cauſes thereof ceaſed, had they the power to do it. For which regard alſo I ſhall not interpoſe my opinion otherwiſe, then that this king had met with no occaſion to do that which had cauſed ſo much ſcandal to him and his parliaments.

But

But whereas Sanders hath remarked covetouſneſſe as a great vice in this king, I could wiſh it had been with more limitation, and ſo as he noted the other extreme (being prodigality) for the greater fault: the examples of both being ſo pregnant in the king's father and himſelf. The firſt, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuſes of his officers and ſubjects, and the prevailing himſelf thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (onely when they were not manifeſtly unjuſt): and laſtly, by frugality, acquiring to himſelf the name of prudent at home, and puiſſant abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an army royall. Whereas this king, ſo often exhauſting his treaſury, that he was conſtrained at laſt to have recourſe to unuſuall and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not onely diſaffect his ſubjects in great part (as appeared in the rebellion of the northern men and others, though to their confuſion) but expoſed his kingdom to the invaſion of his neighbours: who knowing (as all princes do) to about how much their revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furniſh; and conſequently, would have aſſayled him at home, but that mutual diviſions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what Henry VII is call'd by ſome covetouſneſſe, was a royall vertue: whereas the exceſſive and needleſſe expences of Henry VIII drew after them thoſe miſerable conſequences which the world hath ſo much reproached. Howbeit, there may Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. be occaſion to doubt, whether the immenſe treaſure which Henry the VII left behinde him, were not (accidentally) the cauſe of thoſe ils that followed: while the young prince his ſon, finding ſuch a maſs of money, did firſt careleſly ſpend, and after ſtrive to ſupply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was juſtly charged, being luſt and wantonneſs; there is little to anſwer, more then that it was rather a perſonall fault, then damageable to the publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not onely to examine circumſtances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. That concupiſcence which in ſome is a vice, being in others a diſeaſe of repletion, in others a neceſſity of nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did haſten the death of his queens; he being noted more for practiſing of private pleaſures, then ſecret miſchiefs: ſo that if any undue motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate deſire to have poſterity (eſpecially maſculine) which might be the undoubted heirs of him and the kingdom, rather then any thing elſe.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the moſt glorious princes of his time: inſomuch that not onely the chief potentates of chriſtendome did court him, but his ſubjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, ſufficiently teſtifie: which yet expired ſo quickly, that it may be truly ſaid, all his pomp died with him; his memory being now expoſed to obloquy, as his accuſers will neither admit reaſon of ſtate to cover any where, or neceſſity to excuſe his actions. For, as they were either

either diſcontented clergy-men (for his relinquiſh- Hen. 8.
ing the papall authority, and overthrowing the monaſteries); or offended women (for divers ſevere examples againſt their ſex) that firſt oppos'd and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the greater: ſo that although one William Thomas a clerk to the council to Edward the ſixth, and living about the later times of Henry the eighth's reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian book, printed anno 1552, it hath not availed.

But what this prince was, and whether, and how far forth excuſable in point of ſtate, conſcience or honour, a diligent obſervation of his actions, together with a conjuncture of the times, will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious reader, then any factious relation on what ſide whatſoever. To conclude; I wiſh I could leave him in his grave.

Obſervations on the Life of

Cardinal WOLSEY.

CArdinal Wolſey was not ſo great in his for- Lloyd.
tune, as he was mean in his original: his honeſt and induſtrious parents helped him to a good conſtitution, and a large ſpirit, (two hopeful ſteps to greatneſs;) though one hath ſaid of him,

Brave prieſt, whoever was thy ſire by kind,
Wolſey *of* Ipſwich *nere begat thy mind.*

His

Hen. 8. His ambition gave him the opportunity to encreaſe his parts; he was as pregnant at Ipſwich-ſchool, as he was promiſing in Magdalen colledg; where he was batchelor of arts at 15 years of age, and therefore called the boy-batchelour; his induſtry and parts advanced him to a command over noblemen of the marqueſs of Dorſet's family, as ſchool-maſter; as his policy promoted him to an imperiouſneſs over kings in the quality of ſtates-man. *The firſt ſtep to greatneſs in a Scholar, is Relation to a Nobleman:* the beſt education for the court, is in the palace. Nature made him *capable*, the ſchool and univerſity made him a *Scholar*; but his noble employment made him a *Man*. At Oxford he read books, at my lord's he read men, and obſerved *Things*: his patrons two parſonages beſtowed upon him, was not ſo great a favour as the excellent principles inſtilled into him; he being no more careful to *Inſtruct* and *Educate* the young men, then their father was to *Tutor* him: his bounty makes him *Rich*, and his recommendation *Potent:* his *Intereſt* went far, his *Money* farther. Biſhop Fox was ſecretary to king Henry the ſeventh, and he to biſhop Fox; the one was not a greater favourite of the king's, than the other was his; as one that brought him a *Head* capable of all obſervations, and a *Spirit* above all difficulties. Others *Managed* the *Affairs* of *England*, Wolſey *underſtood* its *Intereſt:* his correſpondence was good *abroad*; his obſervations cloſe, deep, and continued at *home:* he improved what he knew, and bought what he knew not. Being a maſter of ſo happy a reſervedneſs, as to what he underſtood not, that in all thoſe variety of things that

tried

tried his *parts*, he never came under the reproofe Hen. 8.
of Megabyſes, to whom Apelles ſaid. Whilſt
thou was ſilent, thou ſeemedſt to be ſome body, but now there is not the meaneſt boy that grindeth oaker, but he laugheth at thee. And as he was reſerved in his ſpeech, ſo he was moderate in his carriage, till the ſucceſs of leſſer actions aſſured him for greater.

He could make any thing he read or heard, his own, and could improve any thing that was his own to the uttermoſt.

One *Chriſtmas* retirement to the marqueſs of Dorſets from Magdalen college, where he was fellow and ſchool-maſter, was like to have *undone* him, at the ſame time that it *made* him; for that debonairneſs whereby he hoped to open the way to honour as a courtier, occaſioned his diſgrace as a *Miniſter*.

Sir James Paulet, (who for ſix days impriſonment *of him* in Somerſetſhire, ſuffered ſix years confinement by him in the Middle-Temple and the Gate-Houſe, untill he was glad to adorne one priſon at a great charge, with the badge and cognizance of the Cardinals greatneſs, to abate his diſpleaſure, as he ſaid, he had diſgraced another with a ſchool-maſters meanneſs to provoke it,) thought fit to *Commit* him for that activity, for which others advanced him; and that to a capacity, (ſee the inſtability of humane affairs; the *Greateſt* ſhould not *preſume*, the meaneſt ſhould not *deſpond*) of haveing the knight as much at the ſchool-maſters pleaſure, as the ſchool-maſter was at his humour. For having loſt the Marqueſs through whom he hoped to ſhew himſelf with advantage at court, *by death*,

and

Hen. 8. and his fellowſhip at Magdalen, where he might have appeared with applauſe in the univerſity, *by Reſignation*, he travelled himſelf into the old treaſurer of Callis favour and ſervice, firſt as his chaplain, then as his deputy, and by him to K. H. 7ths. notice: to whom he became, by dextrous addreſſes to the two then great favourites biſhop Fox and ſir Thomas Lovel, known as well by his ſharpe and ſolid diſcourſes in the cloſet, as by his diſcreet and modeſt behaviour in the chappel, to be capable of two things, *Buſineſs* by his diligence, and *Truſt* by his *Reſervedneſs*, both tryed in an ambaſſage to Maximilian the emperour; his firſt employment performed ſo *quickly*, that the king checked him for not being gone, when he preſented himſelf to ſignifie that he was returned; and ſo *prudently* and effectually, that according to his duty he fulfilled all thoſe inſtructions given with him, and out of his diſcretion thoſe likewiſe too late ſent after him; anſwering the wiſe king, who aſked him whether he met the purſuivant he ſent after him? that he met him and read his letters, the matter whereof he had diſpatcht, conceiving it neceſſary, for which he craved pardon, confeſſing it a preſumption; the ſage king vouchſafeing him not only pardon, but applauſe, promiſing himſelf the greateſt ſervices from one that had given ſo good an earneſt. And indeed he had better ſucceſs in ſerving others, than his depenſants had in ſerving him; for it was mr. Cromwel's great complaint to him, and his great trouble within himſelf, that he had not taken all the opportunities offered him, to advance his ſervants while he ſtood, that they might have had abilities to aſſiſt

aſſiſt him when he was fallen; for when he was Hen. 8.
reduced to a penſion of 4000. markes at Win-
cheſter, and had his lands belonging to his col-
ledges at Oxford and Ipſwich ſeized on by the
* præmunire to the kings uſe, and the abbey at
St. Albons divided among the courtiers, he was
forced to borrow 200 l. of John Higdon his firſt
dean of Chriſt-Church, to pay and reward ſome
of his pooreſt ſervants, on this condition,
that they ſhould not † *ſuſcipere gradum Simonis*,
and having ſerved a Cardinal, wait on any other
below the King. Indeed his eſtate in his
proſperity was little enough for his magnificence
which performed great things, and deſigned
greater; and in his adverſity little enough, for
his charity, which he diſpenſed in all places be-
tween the Charterhouſe at Richmond, where he
began to dye religiouſly, and the Abbey of Lei-
ceſter where he dyed naturally: a charity, which
added to his reading divine ſervice, and preach-
ing in ſome church every Sunday, his open
houſe all the week days, the familiarity and
ſweetneſs of his converſe, and the humility of
his life, gained him as great a reſpect in the
North as he had loſt in the *South*.

No ſooner was he in with the Biſhop of Win-
cheſter, but the biſhop was *aut* with the Earl of
Surrey; to whom he muſt have ſtooped, as he
did unto nature and age, had not he raiſed his
ſervant equal to himſelf in the king's favour, and
above Howard. He was forbid by the canon,
heirs of his body; he was enjoyned by his pru-
dence

* A writ to reſtrain the ſubjects from ſuing in any other courts than the King's.

† Serve below their character.

Hen. 8. dence to make an heir of his favour, equally to ſupport and comfort his old age, and maintain his intereſt. Children in point of policy, as in nature, are a bleſſing, and as arrows in the hands of a mighty man; and happy is that old courtier that hath his quiver full of them, *he ſhall not be aſhamed when he ſpeaks with his Enemies in the gate.* The old man commends Wolſey to Henry the Seventh for one fit to ſerve a king, and command others. Forein employment is the ſtateſman's firſt ſchool; to France therefore he is ſent, to poiſe his Engliſh gravity with French debonairneſs: A well pois'd quickneſs is the excellent temper. From forein employment under an old king, he is called home to ſome domeſtic ſervices under the young one. He as quickly found the length of *His* Foot, as he fitted him with an eaſie Shoo; the King followed his pleaſures, and the Cardinal enjoyeth *His* power; the one purſued his ſports while *Youth*, the other his buſineſs while *Time* ſerved him, (*Give me to Day, and take thou to Morrow, is both the Courtier and the Chriſtian's Language:*) the Favourite took in the council-table debates, and other ſtate-affairs in the maſs and whole bulk of them by day, and the king had the quinteſſence of them extracted, and the ſum of them repreſented to him at night. All ſtate-buſineſs was diſpoſed of by him, and moſt church-preferments beſtowed upon him; the Deanry of Lincolne, the King's Almonerſhip, a houſe near Bridewell, Durham, Wincheſter, Bath, Worceſter, Hereford, Tourney, Lincolne, St, Alban's and York, were in his poſſeſſion; and all other promotions in his gift: He was inſtalled in the kingdom (during

King

King Hen'ry's youthfulneſs) and had the church in *commendam.* His great ſervices indeed could not be managed without a great revenue, nor his greater power ſupported, but by an able purſe, which may buy off expedients as readily as his greatneſs may command them. Hen. 8.

His pithy and witty ſentences at the Starr-Chamber made him ſpeaker there, and his fluent tongue the moſt forward every where elſe; his clear head and ſmooth tongue engroſſed all the king's favours and moſt perſons addreſſes, which advanced his eſtate much, and his reputation more: in ſo much that the management of, and proviſion for the great voyage to France, 5 H. 8. by ſea and land was truſted to *his ſole Care*; and ordered to very good effect by his ſole diſcretion: not neglecting his own affairs while he provided for the King's, being the moſt dextrous by his correſpondents at diſcovering preferments, the cloſeſt at attaining of them; the quickeſt at poſſeſſing them, and the moſt ſkilfull for improving them of any man living; punctual in keeping up the honour of his place, witneſs his advancing of his croſſes as Primate of England, above thoſe of Canterbury as Primate of all England (pitty ſaith one, that they who ſhould contend **de paſcendis ovibus* ſhould fall out † *de lanâ capriná)* and what juriſdiction he wanted as Arch-biſhop, he made up as Cardinal, ‡ Legate *de latere* and Chancellour. In which capacity, he kept 500 ſervants, among whom 9 or 10 Lords, 15 Knights, and

* About feeding the flock.
† About Goat's Hair.
‡ A particular Commiſſion given by the Pope to thoſe who are in his greateſt confidence.

Hen. 8. and 40 Eſquires: in which reſpect he was ſent upon two embaſſies of ſtate to the emperor Charles the 5th in Flanders to the great honour of the Engliſh nation. He entertained all ambaſſadors to the great ſatisfaction of all forein princes, and the King often to his great content, adminiſtring to his Majeſties pleaſure [illegible] might enjoy his power; diſcovering as [illegible] ſkill in his *Treats* as in his *Government*, eſpecially careful of three things.

1. His pomp, to keep his pl[illegible] from contempt, it being not enough for a man in authority to have a power that may awe the judgement of the wiſe to ſubjection, unleſs he have a pomp too, that may dazzle the eyes of the vulgar into veneration: though *Envy* is the moſt dangerous thing that can happen to a private man, yet contempt is the worſt thing that can befall a publick perſon; this weakening the being of the later which conſiſts in his power, as the other doth the comfort of the firſt, which conſiſteth in his peace.

2. His devotion, neglecting not one collect of his prayers for all the cumbrances of his place, wherein he deceived many of the people, thinking he had no time for his devotion from his buſineſs, and his ſervants wondering how he could gain time for his buſineſs from his devotion; he made *Conſcience* of religion, becauſe in his experience of affaires he met with many providences of God that made him really believe it; he made no ſhew of it, becauſe the world believes ſuch men as he did but pretend it.

3. His health, never going out without a perfumed orange into the great crowd that always awaited

awaited him, to whom all perſons came firſt be- Hen. 8.
fore they went to the king: that he wanted ſuch things, was to ſober men argument of the frailty of the greateſt man; that he uſed them, was to envious men an argument of the pride of a poor man. Which putteth me in mind of *Plinyes* deſcription of a man, than whom he ſaith, there is not a living creature *more wretched or more proud*: For the laſt of which qualities, it was that our *Icarus*, though a man of great capacity, large experience, and comparative moderation, moultred his wing ſo ſoon in the beams of Royal Majeſty. But as our Laureat hath it, God help the man ſo *wrapped in Errour's endleſs train*, one Anticyra hath not Hellebore enough to cure him.

Two corrivals he had, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk: Brandon he deſpiſed, as rather beſides, ſaith my author, than againſt him; he being the Kings companion in pleaſure, and Wolſey his councellour in policy; the Duke great with young Henry, the Biſhop with the King: Buckingham he feared as popular; and undermined, as proud: (that tower muſt fall, whoſe foundation is hollow) Buckingham was high in birth, honour and eſtate, Wolſey higher in prudence, whoſe malice did the brave Duke much miſchief, and his own folly more: (Vain glory, writes my friend, ever lieth at open guard, and gives much advantage of play to her enemies.) A deboyſt king is jealous, and a weak nobleman ambitious. In fine, he is attainted of high treaſon, (though rather corrival to the king in his cloaths than his crown,

Hen. 8. in his vanities than his authority:) but a cunning upſtart quickly blows off a young noblemans cap and feather, and his head too, when it ſtands in his way. Tarquin inſtructed more than his own ſon, by ſtriking off the heads of the poppies.

His power againſt Buckingham was his ſhield againſt all others: One defenſe well maintained one adverſary throughly ſuppreſſed, is a ſecurity at court, where two men ſeldom fall the ſame way.

Many envied the Archbiſhop, the Cardinal, the Legate *de latere*, the Lord Chancellour; but all *feared* the favourite: moſt were diſcontented, but none durſt ſhake their heads, leſt they fell off with Buckingham's: the Biſhop's diſpleaſure was more fatal than the king's, whoſe wrath was *violent*, but not *laſting*; as the other's anger was of leſs fury, but more malice, real and more ſecret, he having ſet up as indiſcernible way of intelligence, as angels do of communication; he and his correſpondents underſtanding one another, not by diſcourſe, but by the preſent ſtate of things; as thoſe intelligences underſtand one another, not by ſpeech, but by *Ideas*. His power was great, and his juſtice equal; for he was too proud to be bribed, and too powerful to be overborn. But England was too narrow a theatre for this great ſpirit, and he aſpires to Rome; and having been theſe many years pope of this other world, would have been of that beyond the waters: his leap was great, from York to Rome, and his riſe as good: Charles the Fifth was his client, and his maſter's ſervant; the Cardinals were his penſioners; and when they

they failed (as he is no fox whoſe den hath but one hole, and he no ſtateſman who when one way is ſtopped, cuts not out another) he falls off from the German Emperor to the French King: where if he could not carry his own deſign, he would hinder the Emperours; (and revenge is an advantage) (ſo great was he, that his friendſhip balanced Europe, over-awed Emperours, threatned Kings, and was fatal to Queens) if he cannot be Pope of Rome, he will ſhew he is as good as King of England, for finding that the king wanted a meet yoak-fellow for his bed, and a lawful heir-male to his crown, and obſerving Queen Katherine's age above her husband's, and her gravity above her age, being more pious than pleaſant a better woman than wife, and a better wife for any Prince than King Henry; he promotes a divorce (upon ſome ſcruples intimated by the Spaniards ſome years before, in a treaty about the princeſs Mary's marriage, which others had forgot, but the Cardinal laid up) between the King and queen: but that was not all; but knowing that King Henry could not have to his minde, until he had a pope of his own chooſing, he would help him to a young wife, but he muſt raiſe him to a new power; Wolſey muſt be Pope, or King Henry could not be divorced: and to make all ſure, he was no ſooner to be parted from a daughter of Spain, than he was to be joed to a Princeſs of France; whoſe nuptial ring ſhould wed King Henry to *her*, and King Francis to *himſelf*. Hen. 8.

Two ways did he diſoblige Queen Anne Bullein that was his deadly enemy, 1. By diſſolving the contract between her and the Lord Piercy, the Earle of Northumberland's eldeſt ſon, to pleaſe

Hen. 8. the King, 2. By endeavouring to hinder, or at leaſt delay the marriage between her and the King, to gratifie himſelf; whom in vain afterwards, by inventions unheard of, he endeavoured to pleaſe as well as the king; when he ſaw the contrivances of a great wit, the allurements of a famous beauty, and the malice of a diſappointed woman, joyned to the envy of the greateſt lords whom he had ordered as irreſpectively as the meaneſt ſubject. When it is once paſt noon with a court favourite, it is preſently night with him: for knowing that the Cardinal was *cunning*, and the king not yet *cruel*, they longed to have him at York while at London; and again they contrive to bring him to London while at York; the firſt upon pretenſe that he might do good, the laſt with deſign that he might do no harme. *Sed nullæ ſunt occultiores inſidiæ quàm hæ quæ latent in ſimulatione officij.*† As he obſerved the method of ſome old cunning parliament men, who when they had a mind to croſs a bill, were always higheſt for it in the houſe, (as the eagle carried the ſhell up in the skye to break it) and would inſert ſo many, and ſo great inconveniences into the act, that they were ſure it could never paſs. ‡ *Tuta frequenſque via eſt per amici fallere nomen.*

Miſſing of power, he meditates honour; and inſtead of laviſhing his infinite treaſure upon airy expectations, he beſtoweth it on real monuments; witneſs the great work at Callice, &c. which makes his memory as renowned as his Life. That Stateſman lives to ſmall purpoſe whoſe actions are

† No plots are more ſecret than thoſe hid under the pretence of doing a good office.

‡ In friendſhip's garb men frequently deceive.

are as ſhort as his life, and his exploits of no longer duration than his age. Hen. 8.

At this time, though King Henry bore the Sword, yet Cardinal *Wolſey* (as I am told) bore the ſtroue all over the land, being legate *a latere*, by virtue whereof he viſited all churches and religious-houſes, even the *Friers obſervants* themſelves, notwithſtanding the ſtoutneſs and ſtubbornneſs that firſt oppoſed him. Papal and royal power met in him, being the chancellour of the land, and keeping ſo many Biſhopricks in *commendam*, that his yearly income is ſaid to equal if not exceed the revenues of the crown. He gave the firſt blow to religious houſes, by making one great cardinal college, now *Chriſt Church* (of which one comparing his project with his performance, ſaid, * *Inſtituit Collegium, abſolvit Popinam.* And another being asked what he thought of the ampleneſs of the foundation, anſwered, † *Fundatione nihil amplius*; to which I may add his colledge at *Ipſwich*) of forty ſmall monaſteries; to make way, as ſome thought, upon the Popes conſent, procured by him, to the overthrow of all.

He called all Captains and Officers to an account, who bought off their own ſmall corruption with his great one, and paid him the penalties of their cheats with the gains of it; the richeſt of them eſcaping, and the pooreſt only made exemplary. Several courts of pretended equity he erected; to redreſs the poor, that was the colour; to inrich himſelf, that was the reality: at whoſe conſtitution the law-courts were unfrefrequented,

* He built a colledge upon the ruins of a victualling-houſe.

† Nothing more than the foundation.

Hen. 8. quented, ſo ſpecious was their ſeeming integrity; at the laſt they are deſerted, ſo manifeſt were their real grievances; the people not flocking ſo faſt after the novelty, as they ran away from the cheat: though his pretenſe was fair, *that the* kingdom ſhould not be a common-wealth of fiſh, where the greater devoured the leſs.

What he did to reform the courtiers as a favourite, he did to reform the clergy as legate; erecting a court legantine (not without danger of a *præmunire)* wherein all clergy were viſited; the rich in their purſes, that excuſed them; the poor in their reputation, that compounded for them. Neither did his profits ariſe from the living onely, but the dead; he engroſſing the probation of all wills and teſtaments within his own court: he had petty projects, *viz.* that children ſhould follow their father's profeſſion, ſaying that he obſerved, that the father's eminency in any act, begat in the child a propenſion to the ſame; and where two or three ſucceſſive generations happily inſiſt in the ſteps one of another, they raiſe an art to great perfection, and liked well the prudence of our parliaments in permitting the eldeſt ſon of barons to be preſent at their conſultations, to fit them by degrees for the perſon they are to ſuſtain.

And not long after, he hath a patent under the Great Seal of England, to do what he pleaſed in the French Court, in order to the King's progreſs thither; as he hath likewiſe after, with his maſter's leave, under the great ſeal of France: After which honour, he was with the king's order, by Engliſh ſubjects, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, &c. honoured at no leſſe rate than that of a prince and by the clergy (who kept cloſe to the publick

temper

temper) with proceſſions, &c. at the ſame rate with a pope. Great he was in England; greater in Germany, where all the nobility attended him, the great ſeal of England was carried before him; and the Emperor obſerving his commiſſion and honour, met him with his whole train, and harangued it with him no leſs than two days. He that over-ruled empires might well preſume on ſubjects; and no ſooner therefore doth he return, than by his own authority he levieth four ſhillings in the pound of every man that was worth fifty pound *per Annum*; and when that would not do (pretending to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that he had been upon his knees to revoke thoſe commiſſions) other letters for a benevolence, which loſt him as much in the countrey, as his reformation of the houſhold did him at court. But the king employeth him to France, as his Second and takes his leave of him as his intimate friend; 1200 horſe attended him: Callice, Bulein, Amiens honour him with the name of *The peaceable Cardinal*; and the ſtatue of a Cardinal *reſcuing a church and a pope from danger*, whom yet underhand he brought into danger, making the Duke of Bourbon General againſt the King of France to revenge himſelf; and yet making an underhand peace with France (which the Duke knew not of, till he took the inſtrument of peace ſealed at the caſtle of Pavia) to pleaſe others; for which laſt exploit, carried on privately by receiving the French ambaſſadour as an Italian jeſter, the Duke of Bourbon reſolved to go and ſack *Rome*, and puniſh all the Cardinals he *could* come at for the fault of one he *could not*. But though his armes reached him not, the court wits did; perſwading

Hen. 8.

his

Hen. 8. his Ambition to go upon a ſplendid embaſſy, to reconcile all the Chriſtian Princes abroad, that they might have the better advantage to withdraw from him the favour of his own prince at home; contriving likewiſe, that all the friends he had at court ſhould be of his retinue in the embaſſie, both to increaſe the envy of his train, and to weaken the ſtrength of his intereſt: It was obſerved that he gave three rules to his company the morning he went from Callis; 1. That they ſhould take care of the Sovereign's honour that imployed him. 2. That they ſhould obſerve the natural civility and ſobriety of the nation they came from. 3. That they ſhould retain as much reſervedneſs as became the affair he went about; giving them a caution of the French in theſe words, *viz. that at their firſt meeting, they would be as familiar as if they had known them by long acquaintance*; and of themſelves in theſe that they ſhould not ſpeak of any matter of importance, but in their own language, leſt they ſhould diſcover that for want of words which they ſhould hide with them.

Very *exact* he was in the honourable *circumſtances* of addreſs, abateing the French King not a ſtep in their approaches one to another, but moſt *exact* in the particulars of the treaty, yielding not a point to the whole council of France; for knowing that their own conveniency, not their love brought the treaty about, he would often fling away, and make the King and Queen regent court him to renew the conſultation, which otherwiſe he muſt have careſſed them to. Fear, not love is the paſſion of common-wealth. But his entertainment from the King his maſter at home,

was

was not anſwerable to his ſervice abroad; nor the applauſe from the noblemen, judges, and juſtices of the peace of each ſhire in England (cited from the country to hear an account of his great league that they might report it to the country) ſuitable either to his eloquence or action at the Star Chamber: nis great expectation. The firſt court deſign upon him, after his return, was an entertainment to the French Ambaſſador, injoyned by the King to beggar him; the next was a diſcovery made to him of the King's love to Queen A. Bullein, (its dangerous to know King's ſecrets) from which he diſſwaded his Majeſty by intreaties on his knees and by arguments from the moſt learned men in the kingdome which he conſulted with, and in both univerſities which he ſent to. Its not ſafe ſtanding in the way of a King's luſt, though indeed the Cardinal's enemies had poſſeſſed themſelves both of the king and people's apprehenſions ſo farr, that his Majeſty was wrought upon to be angry with him, becauſe he was perſwaded that he was againſt his divorce; and the people were incenſed againſt him (as he declared to the King at the court of Bridewell) becauſe they were made believe that he was for it. Hen. 8.

Many chafing diſcourſes (as he called them) had he with the king, whom yet he would coole with the gentleneſs of his behaviour; many affronts from noble-men: Eſpecially one, whoſe head he had kept on, threatened his off. Often would he diſſwade the King from perſuing his deſign; often upon the king's ſolicitations did he and Cardinal Campeius perſwade the Queen to retire.

At

Hen. 8. At Grafton in Northamptonſhire was the firſt ſtep of his fall, when the king went to dine with queen Anne Bullein, and left him to ſhift among the ſervants.

Queen Anne preſſed the king with the poor condition he had brought the ſubjects to; others into what great eſtate he had raiſed himſelf. Firſt he returns from court to Weſtminſter, and the broad ſeal, with his rich furniſhed houſe being taken from him, afterwards to *Putney* or *Aſher*, when he that could have furniſhed Kings with accommodations, was furniſhed himſelf by the Biſhop of Carliſle. Afraid they were he ſhould have a ſumme of money to live upon at Rome, therefore they ſearched Cardinal *Campeius* train at Callis; more afraid he ſhould have an habitation near the King: therefore they demanded his houſe as Biſhop of Yorke called White-hall, which the Cardinal (intreating the judges that came to take his recognizance, to teach the king not onely what he might do, but what he ought to do, and to put him in mind of the greatneſs of the eternal habitations as hell and heaven, as well as the conveniency of earthly dwellings) choſe rather to give upon terms for Yorke-houſe, than to loſe by force.

The articles againſt him in the houſe were bravely waved by his ſervant Mr. Cromwell, the grief of his heart much allayed by a ring ſent him from the king, and a tablet from the Queen; his Majeſty's Phyſicians had a ſpecial charge about his health; and his wardrobe about his houſe; but this was only a Lightening before death, to exaſperate his enemies rather than gratifie him.

Cardinal

Cardinal Wolſey going over to France, upon an extraordinary embaſſy, had for his attendance Tonſtal Biſhop of London, the Lord Sands, late Chamberlain, the Earl of Derby, Sir Tho. More, Sir H. Guilford, and 200 horſe; and was met two day's journey from Paris by King Francis and his mother, carrying with him 140000 l. though ſilver was but 20. d an ounce, to aſſiſt that King in the war againſt Charles the fifth; and furniſhed with ſuch a plenipotentiary commiſſion, that he gave law to France and the Popedome: and he comported himſelf with ſuch dexterity and high wiſdome, that all the princes of Chriſtendome, who had their eyes fixed upon him, admired him. Hen. 8.

The King gave him many places, and he beſtowed on him his magnificent palaces; Whitehall, that goodly hypocrite, more comely without than convenient within, Hampton-Court, Windſor; the two firſt to be reſident in, and the laſt to be buried in. *Arma tenenti, omnia dat, qui juſta negat,** fitting his humour with pleaſant habitations, as he ſuited his ambition with power and authority.

But the king broke with him at laſt about the divorce, being vexed with ſo many delays, defers, retardings, and prorogations between two popes, Clement that was, and Wolſey that would be: yet rather eaſed him of his burdens, than deprived him of his preferments; continuing him Biſhop of York and Durham (when he turned him out of his Chancellourſhip of England) where being ſent by that Lord, who would not endure him nearer the King, and could not get him further, he

† Men are often forced to do things by compulſion, which they will deny upon motives of Juſtice.

Hen. 8. he lived rather like a *prince* than a *prieſt*, providing as magnificently for his *inſtallation* as a king ſhould for his *coronation*: which unſeaſonable ambition was improved by his enemies malice, and the king's jealouſie to his ruine: for in the midſt of his ſolemnities he is arreſted by the King's order, ſignified by the Earle of Northumberland, whoſe wrath was the *Meſſenger of Death*, and in his way to London, being diſtracted between hope and fear, died at Leiceſter, where he was buried as obſcurely as he was borne; and breathing out his ſoul in words to this purpoſe, *viz. If I had ſerved the God of Heaven as faithfully as I did my maſter on earth, he had not forſaken me in my old age, as the other hath done.* He died, ſwelling in his body, as he had done in his mind, the pain being really in his heart, which ſeemed to be in his guts; for when Northumberland, whom he had bred, and a privy-chamberman whom he had preferred, were ſent to him, he could ſtill hope that the king intended him honour; but when Sir William Kingſton, Lieutenant of the Tower, who carried a reſtraint in his looks, came to him, he could not believe but he intended him puniſhment, keeping him only between the tickling hopes of preferment, and pinching fear of diſgrace, to ſound his bottom and to diſcover his eſtate; ſo well he took the firſt arreſt, that he directed the meſſengers to execute their commiſſion legally; ſaying that he ought to yield himſelf to a privy-chamberman on his word; though not to the Earl without his commiſſion. So ill the ſecond, that he could not govern himſelf tolerably. Very obſervant he was of *old propheſies*; applying that

When

When the Cow rides the Bull,
Then Prieſt beware thy ſkull. Hen. 8.

to Hen. 8. whoſe armes, as earle of Richmond was a cow; and Anne Bullein, whoſe deviſe was a bull: whoſe love to each other, was the occaſion of their *hatred* to him.

And *that*, that he ſhould *have his end at Kingſton*, to *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, a town he would not look on willingly while he lived; and to ſir William Kingſton, a man he would not with his good will hear of when he died: and fearful of new omens, interpreting the falling of his croſſe to break Bonner's head, the fall of the church to the danger of his own. A ſerene and peacable ſoul acts by ſolid reaſon, a frighted and troubled one by fanſie, imagination and ſuperſtition; *a mind in the dark of melancholy, and trouble, feareth every thing.* The king not knowing his own changeble mind, would have given 20000*l.* he had lived; and his enemies knowing it too well, gave 10000*l.* that they might be ſure he ſhould dye.

The one aiming at a booty from his eſtate (as appeared afterward by his reward to thoſe ſervants that diſcovered it; the other at their own ſecurity from his power: both to his dying day, ſo great, that indifferent men thought them enough, his foes too much, and he himſelf too little. Plenty without pomp, is penury to pride, which kings may make *humbled*, God only *humble:* he being able to take away the fire, the *Luſt* within; the other only to withdraw the *Fuel*, the ſtate without.

Remarkeable were his words of himſelf. *This* is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my diligent

Hen. 8. ligent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God; but only my reſpect to the king. Flattery is the common moath of great palaces, where Alexander's friends are more than the king's. Obſervable his caution to the councellors, whom he adviſed to take heed, what they ſhould put into the king's head, for (ſaid he) you can never put it out again. Heinous is the crime of poyſoning fountains: and ſuch is a king's mind in a common-wealth. Notable was the jealouſie of his enemies, who could not but believe he was alive, until the mayor and corporation of Leiceſter [who were called therefore to view his corps] teſtified under their publick ſeal, that he was dead: but moſt notorious his burial, that

He, who from his own ſtore late might have,
A Palace or a Colledge for his Grave;
Should lye interr'd ſo obſcurely, as if all
Of him to be remember'd were his fall;
Nothing but earth to earth; no Pompous weight
Upon him, but a pibble or a quoit.

yet though his fortune was not great, as his merit, or his merit as his mind; he planted things that are like to laſt as long as men are either to do things worthy to be written in books, or books are to record things worthy to be done by men.

His enemies made mock defences for him, on purpoſe to overthrow him: ſo before a ſerious warr, cities uſe to perſonate their adverſe party, and feign mock combats and ſkirmiſhes to encourage their friends, wherein you may be ſure that their own ſide ſhall conquer. Which puts me in mind of the lyons anſwer in the fable, when the picture of a man beating a lyon was pro-

produced to him, he ſaid, *If a Lyon had made* Hen. 8.
this picture, he would have made the lyon above, and the man beneath. **Nihil eſt quin male narrando poſſit depravarier.*

One thing he adviſed young men to take care of in their publick deliveries, *viz.* that they ſhould rather proceed, though more inaccurately, than ſtop ſenſibly; few being able to diſcerne the failure of a continued ſpeech, when all underſtand the miſchance of a groſs ſilence.

A fellow having made a long oration to his hearers, of the virtues of a feather, which he affirmed to have dropped from the wing of Michael the arch-angel; and the feather being ſtolen from under his ſleeve out of drollery, and a cinder put in the place of it to trye his humour, he went on confidently with his diſcourſe; telling them, that though it was not the feather which he had mentioned; yet it was one of the coles which St. Laurence was broyled with; and had all thoſe virtues which he had formerly aſcribed to the feather.

When good men die ſuddenly, it is ſaid they are poyſoned; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as he did, it is ſaid they poyſon themſelves. He died unpitied, becauſe he had lived feared; being the great bias of the chriſtian world.

Too ſuddain proſperity in the beginning, undoeth us in the end: while we expect all things flowing upon us at firſt, we remit our care, and periſh by neglecting. Every head cannot bear wine, nor every ſpirit a fortune: ſucceſs eats up circumſpection. How many a man had ended better, if he he had not begun ſo well? it's the emphaſis

* Many a good cauſe ſuffers by miſrepreſentation.

Hen. 8. emphaſis of miſery, to be too ſoon happy: proſperity growing up with experience, makes a man in a firm ſettlement, inured to all events. I will ever ſuſpect the ſmooth waters for deepneſs: in my worſt eſtate I will hope, in the beſt I will fear; in all, I will be circumſpect and ſtil. Ruffling ambition reacheth great honour, a ſedate humility ſupports it: the lower the baſis, the higher and ſtronger the pyramide. Love, the iſſue of humility, guardeth the weakeſt; hatred, the daughter of pride, ruines the ſtrongeſt. **Ego & Rex meus*, was good grammar for Wolſey a ſchool-maſter; but not for the cardinal a ſtates-man. To be humble to ſuperiors, is *duty*; to equals, is *courteſie*; to inferiours, is *nobleneſs*; and to all, *ſafety*; it being a virtue that for all her lowlineſs commandeth thoſe ſouls it ſtoops to. In a word, as I love virtue, ſo I hate vice, for her inſide and her end. Cardinal Wolſey is famous for two things; that he never ſpoke a word too much, and but one too little.

The Lord *Herbert*'s Character of Cardinal *Wolſey*, in the Life of *Henry* the Eighth, pag. 314.

AND thus concluded that great Cardinal: a man in whom ability of parts and induſtry were equally eminent; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous inſtruments of power, in doubtful and mutable times: By

* I and my King.

By theſe arts yet he found means to govern not Hen. 8.
onely the chief affairs of this kingdom, but of Europe; *there being no potentate, which, in his turn, did not ſeek to him; and as this procured him divers penſions, ſo, when he acquainted the king therewith, his manner was, ſo cunningly to diſoblige the prince who did fee him laſt, as he made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on the other ſide. But not of ſecular princes alone, but even of the pope and clergy of* Rome *he was no little counted; of which therefore he made eſpecial uſe, while he drew them to ſecond him on moſt occaſions. His birth being otherwiſe ſo obſcure and mean, as no man had ever ſtood ſo ſingle: for which reaſon alſo his chief endeavour was not to diſpleaſe any great perſon; which yet could not ſecure him. For as all things paſſed through his hands, ſo they who failed in their ſuits generally hated him: all which, though it did but exaſperate his ill nature, yet this good reſultance followed, that it made him take the more care to be juſt: whereof alſo he obtained the reputation in his publick hearing of cauſes: for as he loved no body, ſo his reaſon carried him. And thus he was an uſeful miniſter of his king in all points, where there was no queſtion of deſerting the roman church; of which (at what price ſoever) I finde he was a zealous ſervant; as hoping thereby to aſpire to the papacy, whereof (as the factious times then were) he ſeemed more capable than any, had he not ſo immoderately affected it. Whereby alſo it was not hard to judge of his inclination; that prince, who was ableſt to help him to this dignity, being ever preferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary baite, by which the emperour and the French king,*

Hen. 8. *one after the other did catch him. And, upon theſe terms, he doubted not to convey vaſt treaſures out of this kingdome, eſpecially unto* Rome, *where he had not a few cardinals at his devotion; by whoſe help, though he could not attain that ſupreme dignity he ſo paſſionately deſired, yet he prevailed himſelf ſo much of their favour, as he got a kinde of abſolute power in ſpiritual matters at home: wherewith again he ſo ſerved the king's turn, as it made him think the leſs of uſing his own authority. One error ſeemed common to both, which was, that ſuch a multiplicity of offices and places were inveſted in him. For as it drew much envy upon the cardinal in particular, ſo it derogated no little from the regal authority, while one man alone ſeemed to exhauſt all: ſince it becometh princes to do like good huſbandmen, when they ſow their grounds; which is, to ſcatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great diſſembler, for ſo qualified a perſon; as ordering his buſineſſes (for the moſt part) ſo cautiouſly, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his learning, (which was far from exact) it conſiſted chiefly in the ſubtilties of the* Thomiſts, *wherewith the king and himſelf did more often weary than ſatisfie each other. His ſtile, in miſſives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as* Polydore *obſerves) that no man ever did riſe with fewer virtues, it is true that few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſſer crimes objected againſt him: though yet* Polydore *(for being at his firſt coming into* England *committed to priſon by him, as we have ſaid) may be ſuſpected as a partial author. So that in all probability he might have ſubſiſted longer, if either*

his

his pride and immenſe wealth had not made him ob- Hen. 8.
noxious, and ſuſpected to the king, or that other, than women had oppoſed him: who, as they are vigilant and cloſe enemies, ſo for the moſt part they carry their buſineſſes in that manner as they leave fewer advantages againſt themſelves than men do. In concluſion, as I cannot aſſent to thoſe who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compaſſion of the people a little before his end, ſo I cannot but account it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things ſucceeded better than afterwards; though yet it may be doubted whether the impreſſions he gave, did not occaſion divers irregularities which were obſerved to follow. He died *Nov.* 29, 1529.

Obſervations on the Life of Charles Brandon, *Duke of* Suffolk.

SIR William Brandon dying in king Henry the ſeventh's ſervice, as his ſtandard-bearer in Boſworth-field, no wonder if his ſon lived in his favour; it being as prudent to continue his loyal ſpirit in his ſon, as it was juſt to reward it. He was as intimate with Henry the eighth in his pleaſures when a *child*, as in his councels when a *man*. There was a ſympathy between their active ſpirits, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendſhip in their age; men of quick and large ſtriding minds loving to walk together: not to ſay the looſer Lloyd.

Hen. 8. the lives, the faſter the friends. At a tilting in Paris, to which many young noblemen were licenſed to go, Brandon overcame others every day, and one day himſelf, (againſt a gyant Almain) where the lords looked not on him with more envious, than the ladies with gracious eyes; who (ſaith my author) darted more glances in love, than the other did ſpears in anger againſt him. He is the compleat courtier, in whom beauty and valour, Mars and Venus, are joined in one happy conſtitution, which awes and allures beholders.

Being employed to bring over queen Mary, king Lewis the twelfth's relict, to her brother, he won her to himſelf: whether his affections were ſo ambitious as to climb up to her, or hers ſo humble as to condeſcend to him, may be the ſubject of a more amorous diſcourſe: and conſidering with himſelf that matters of this nature are never ſure till finiſhed, that ſo royal an opportunity happened but ſeldome, and that leave for ſuch an enterprize was eaſier gained when it's done, than when doing; he humbly requeſted his majeſty to give way to that match, which was indeed already concluded: who, after ſome ſtate-diſcontent, was quickly pleaſed; the duke being no leſs eſteemed by him for many years, than he was beloved by the people. His genius was more martial than mercurial; and we hear of him oftner in the French wars, than in the Engliſh councils.

And in both, his plain overtures went farther than others fair harangues; becauſe theſe only hovered in mens fancies, thoſe came home to mens buſineſs and boſoms. He wondered at the men

men that pleaſed themſelves in the liberty of gid- Hen. 8
dy fancies; and dreaded the ties of a fixed be-
leif, for the publick good, not his own advan-
tage, affecting (as one ſaid well) free will in
thinking, as well as in acting; and at the new
diſcourſing wits, that were as unſettled, though
not ſo rational as the old ſcepticks, until he con-
ſidered the difficulty of diſcerning truth; the
hardſhip of confining the quick-ſilver thoughts
within the limits it preſcribeth, or ſubmitting
them to the burthen it impoſeth. "One of the
"latter ſchools of the Grecians examineth the
"matter, [it is the lord Verulum's obſervation]
"and is at a ſtand to think what ſhould be in
"it, that men ſhould love lies; where neither
"they make for pleaſure as with poets; nor for
"advantage as with the merchant, but for the
"lies ſake. But I cannot tell why, this ſame
"truth is a naked and open day-light, that
"doeth not ſhew the maſques and mummeries,
"and triumphs of the preſent world halfe ſo
"ſtately and daintily as candlelights: truth may
"perhaps come to the price of a pearl that
"ſheweth beſt by day; but it will not riſe to
"the price of a diamond or carbuncle that
"ſheweth beſt in varied lights: a mixture of
"lies doth ever add pleaſure. Doth any man
"doubt that if there were taken of mens minds
"vain opinions, flattering hopes, falſe valua-
"tions, imaginations as one would, and the
"like * *vinum demonum*, as a father calls poetry,
"but it would leave the minds of a number of
"men, poor ſhrunken things, full of melancho-
"ly, and indiſpoſition, and unpleaſing to them-
"ſelves." "Clear

* An Infernal Potion.

Hen. 8. "Clear and round dealing, this noble man's "temper, is the honour of man's nature; and "that mixture of falſehood is like allay in "coyn of gold and ſilver, which may make the "metal work the better, but embaſeth it." For theſe winding and crooked courts are the goings of the ſerpent, which goeth baſely upon the belly, and not upon the foot. There is nothing of ſo ill conſequence to the publick, as falſehood or (ſpeech being the currant coyn of converſe) the putting falſe money upon the world; or of ſo much prejudice to a man's own intereſt, as perfidiouſneſs which weakeneth his great ſecurity, which ſtands by him when his eſtate and friends cannot; or ſo dark a blot as diſſembling, which, as Montaign ſaith prettily, is only to be brave towards God, and a coward towards man: for a lye faceth God, and ſhrinketh from man.

His heart was too ſtout, and his head too clear to uſe thoſe arts of cloſeneſs and diſſimulation, which thoſe need who have not judgment and wit enough to diſcern all the circumſtances of an affair, ſo as to know when to *tell* a truth; nor courage and valour enough to look in the face of all the conſequences of a buſineſs, ſo as to *own* it: a man better made for the open arts, and generous policy of H. 8. than the ſuſpicious cloſeneſs, and the wary reſervedneſs of H. 7. His father loſt his life in completing the union of roſes, I mean York and Lancaſter; and he in beginning the union of kingdoms, viz. England and Scotland by treaty; and England and France by war, he being the firſt that durſt faſten the royal ſtandard in the ſides of Bul-

leign;

leign; and the laſt that advanced the St. George in the middle of it, both taking and governing it. The greateſt thing that ever that age ſaw, was, if we believe Sleidan, the delivery of the keys of Bulleign by a French governour to the duke of Suffolk's hand; and the greateſt thing king H. 8. ſaw, he ſaith, was the delivery of thoſe keys by the duke, into his hand: inſomuch that deſpairing of greater, the one died that year, the other the next. Hen. 8.

Queen Elizabeth being to employ a famous embaſſage into France, made choice of two of the nobleſt peers of her realm; equal in rank, equal in virtue: but the one excuſed it by a defect in his hearing, and the other by an ignorance and want of the French language. To which the queen ſmilingly replied: that it was a miſerable eſtate when her ſpeaking peers were deaf, and her hearing peers were dumb. Our duke uſed to complain, that two of the moſt eminent men in the council in his time, had two different, but unhappy, qualities: the one a well-ſpoken man, had ſuch a humour, that he pretended he underſtood hardly any body; the other a perſon of an excellent judgment, but ſpeaking ſo darkly that hardly any body underſtood him.

He avoided two things, firſt, catching too ſoon at an offence: ſecondly, yeilding too eaſie a way to anger; the one ſhewing a weak judgment, the other a perverſe nature: which rendereth great men as ridiculous, as it did the ambaſſadors of Spain and Venice, who drew blood from one another in the moſt auguſt aſſembly at the coronation of K. H. 4ths. queen

in

Hen. 8. in France, becauſe one of them uſed the word excellency inſtead of the word *Seigniory*. But in theſe caſes he obſerved the roman diſcipline * *nec ſequi, nec fugere*, to be more prudent than to catch at ſuch trifling cavils: and more courageous than to ſhun, if they were offered to him: being very cautious alſo in mentioning the name of God in ſmall matters [‡ *nec deus Interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus, Inciderit.*] and more willing to build his reſolution on the experience of former ages, than his own thought; being very unwilling to be of the number of thoſe people, who, like the Chinois, think they have two eyes; their friends, as thoſe think of the Europeans, one; and other men, as they think of the reſt, blind.

Being vexed with the delays at Rome, and the deluſions at Bridewel, (where the cardinals proceeded according to their inſtructions at Rome) one day he knocks on the table in the preſence of the two cardinals, and binds it with an oath, that it was never well in England ſince cardinals had any thing to do therein: and from that time forward, as an active inſtrument, he endeavoured the aboliſhing of the pope's power in England; againſt whom he was not more active in the parliament 1534, than he was vigilant in the committee, 1535: in the one, cutting off the head: in other, weakening the members of that church. He made provident, yet moderate uſe of his maſter's favours; thereby obliging others, and ſecuring himſelf; being above

* Neither to follow nor fly.

‡ Nor let a God in perſon vainly diſplay'd
Unleſs the Laboring Plot deſerves his aid.
Francis's Hor. Art. Poet. 191.

mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, Hen. 8.
as in his fortune: he was neither too near the king, leſt he were weary of him; nor too far off, leſt he forgot him, or thought himſelf neglected by him. His intermiſſions of attendance gave others no advantage, but rendred him more gracious: he neither engroſſed nor confined his maſter's affection. It was eaſie for him to riſe, being deſcended of noble blood, (which is never envied for its advancement) and as eaſie to keep high, being well ſtudied in his princes diſpoſition, whoſe inclination when found is half fitted; ever pleaſing his maſter's *Natural* humour, never his *Vicious*. Having attained a competent height, he choſe rather to grow ſtronger by relation, than higher by advancement. *Some Favourites, whoſe heels have been tripped up by their adverſaries, have with their hands held on their Allies till they could recover their feet again.* His familiarity, and the eaſie acceſs to him, made him popular: his pliant temper kept him a favourite, until he died in the full favour of his prince; though (as cardinal Pool obſerved) *They who were higheſt in the king's favour, had their heads neareſt danger.* He had a becoming bluntneſs not unlike his maſter's, which we call free-heartedneſs in courtiers; conſcience and chriſtian ſimplicity in clergymen; valour in ſouldiers. He died *anno* 1544, and was buried at Windſor; much beloved and lamented of all, for his bounty, humility, valour, and all noble vertues ſince the heat of his youth was tamed by his reduced age: whoſe two ſons Henry and Charles died within twelve hours one of the other, of the ſweating ſickneſs at Cambridge, 1550. He,

Hen. 8. He, knowing that learning hath no enemy but ignorance, did ſuſpect always the want of it in thoſe men, who derided the habit of it in others; like the fox in the fable, who having loſt his tayle by miſchance, perſwaded others to cut theirs as a burthen. But he liked well the phyloſophers diviſion of men into three ranks, ſome who knew good, and were willing to teach others; theſe he ſaid were like Gods among men; others who though they knew not much, yet were willing to learn; theſe he *ſaid were like men among Beaſts*; and ſome who knew not good, and yet deſpiſed ſuch as ſhould teach them; theſe he eſteemed as *Beaſts among men.* The moſt miſerable men he eſteemed them, who running their head into a buſh of confident ignorance, ſuppoſe that none ſee their weakneſs; becauſe they are not willing to take notice of it themſelves.

1. A calm greatneſs is next the happineſs of heaven: give me the man that by a fair and calm courſe is riſing to an higher ſtate, yet content with his preſent fortune.

2. Integrity out-laſts power, and plainneſs ſurvives policy: an honeſt heart keeps the head on the ſhoulders: a noble and clear vertue is laſting.

3. It's likeneſs that makes the true-love-knot of friendſhip: when a prince finds another of his own diſpoſition, what is it but the ſame ſoul in a divided body? what finds he but himſelf intermutually tranſpoſed? and nature, that makes us love our ſelves, makes us with the ſame reaſon love thoſe that are like us: for this, is a friend a more ſacred name than a brother.

4. He

4. He that hath a mind contentedly good, en- Hen. 8.
joyeth in it boundleſs poſſeſſions. He is great indeed, that is great in a brave ſoul.

* *Vitam que faciunt beatiorem,*
Jucundiſſime Martialis, hæc ſunt:
Res non parta Labore, ſed relicta;
Non ingratus Ager, focus perennis,
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta,
Vires Ingenuæ, ſalubre Corpus,
Prudens ſimplicitas, pares amici,
Convictus

* Since Deareſt Friend, 'tis your deſire to ſee,
A True Receipt of Happineſs from me,
Theſe are the chief Ingredients, if not all;
Take an Eſtate neither too great nor ſmall;
Which Quantum Sufficit the Doctor's call.
Let this Eſtate from Parents care deſcend;
The getting it too much of Life does ſpend.
Take ſuch a Ground, whoſe Gratitude may be
A fair Encouragement for Induſtry.
Let conſtant Fires the Winter's fury tame;
And let thy Kitchens be a veſtal flame.
Thee to the Town let never Suit at Law,
And rarely, very rarely Buſineſs draw.
Thy Active Mind in equal Temper keep,
In undiſturbed Peace, yet not in Sleep.
Let Exerciſe a vigorous Health maintain,
Without which all the Compoſition's Vain.
In the ſame weight Prudence and Innocence take,
Ana of each does the juſt mixture make.
But a few Friendſhips wear, and let them be
By Nature and by Fortune fit for thee.
Inſtead of Art and Luxury in Food,
Let Mirth and Freedom make thy Table good;
If any Cares into thy Day time creep,
At Night, without Wine's Opium, let them Sleep.
Let Reſt, which Nature does to Darkneſs wed,
And not Luſt, recommend thee to thy Bed;

Hen. 8. *Convictus facilis, ſine arte Menſa;*
Nox non ebria, ſed ſoluta curis;
Non triſtis torus, attamen pudicus;
Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras:
Quod ſis eſſe velis, nihilque malis;
Summum ne metuas diem, nec optes.

Obſervations on Thomas Cranmer, *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.

Lloyd. CRANMER had a noble blood, quickning and raiſing his ſpirits, as he had an indefatigable induſtry to improve it. He was a gentleman born in Arſelecton in Nottinghamſhire, and a Noble-man bred in Jeſus-colledg in Cambridg. His anceſtors were no leſs eminent at Cranmer's-hall in Lincolnſhire, than he was at Lambeth in Surry. They came in with the conqueſt, (as one Cranmer a French ambaſſadour in Henry the eighth's time, at the archbiſhop's table, made it evident) and he with the reformation. His education was as gentile as his birth, only his mild ſpirit meeting with a ſevere maſter, his memory was weakened, and his ſpiritfulneſs allayed: but the auſterity of the ſchool was ſweetened with the exerciſes of the country

Be ſatisfied, and pleaſed with what thou art;
Act chearfully and well th' allotted Part:
Enjoy the preſent Hour, be thankful for the paſt,
And neither fear, nor wiſh, the approaches of the laſt.

Cowley's tranſlation of Martial Epigrams, Lib. 10. Ep. 47.

country, which his father indulged him in when Hen. 8.
he was young, and he indulged himſelf when aged; handling his great horſe as nimbly, his bow and net as dexterouſly as any man in his family. His marriage withdrew him from the colledge, and conſequent church-preferment, as the kings did him from the church it ſelf. He whoſe marriage forbid him a fellowſhip in Jeſus-colledge, had a lecture in Buckingham-houſe for his parts and reputation, where at once he prepared others for publick employments, and himſelf alſo. He lived as ſoberly at the Dolphine-tavern with his wife, (whatever the papiſts have ſurmized) as he did ſtudiouſly at Buckingham-houſe with his ſcholars. His name was ſo famous, that Wolſey was not more ſolicitous to tranſplant him as an ornament to Oxford, then Fiſher was to retain him in Cambridg; where he was eminent for the arts, more for divinity, which (when as one of the three cenſors he examined *Candidates*) he ſaid he expected not in the difficult trifles of Lumbard, but in the ſacred ſenſe of ſcriptures, the ancient doctrine of fathers, the grave canons of councils, the ſolid politeneſs of the greek and hebrew learning, and which he lived as well as he taught, in his ſober temperance, his mild meekneſs, (ſo placable, ſo courteous, that to offend him, was the way to ingratiate with him) his discreet moderation, his grave reſolution equally above the frowns and ſmiles of fortune. Thus qualified, he was by a providence commended to his majeſty: for there being a plague in Cambridge, as there was all over England, Dr. Cranmer retired to Waltham with two of his pupils, the ſons of one Mr.

Hen. 8. Mr. Creſſy: where upon the king's progreſs thither, he met with his chaplain and almoner Dr. Fox, (afterwards biſhop of Hereford) who lodging with him at Mr. Creſſey's, diſcourſed the king's divorce. Cranmer conceived that the ſpeedieſt courſe were to prove the unlawfulneſs of the match by ſcripture; whence it would follow, that the pope at firſt had no power to diſpenſe therewith; and that the univerſities of *Chriſtendom* would ſooner and truer decide the caſe than the court of Rome. This paſſage Fox reports to the king, who well pleaſed thereat, profeſſeth that *this man had the Sow by the right Ear:* glad was the king to ſee him, (indeeed he had a comely perſon, and a pleaſing countenance;) more to hear him enlarge himſelf on the former ſubject, that it was above the pope's power to diſpenſe with God's word in the king's caſe: what he ſaid to the king, he was ſent to make it good to the pope; whither, inveſted with the arch-deaconry of Taunton, he went with Thomas Bullein earl of Wiltſhire; whoſe firſt addreſs to the pope, was to preſent a book of Cranmer's, *proving God's Law indiſpenſible with by the Pope:* the author is preferred to the great title of *Supreme Pœnitentiary*, and the treatiſe is promiſed a conſideration and debate: but the pope delaying, and according to Cranmer's advice, ten univerſities declaring againſt him; the ambaſſador returns to England, and the diſputant goes to Vienna, where in Oſiander's houſe (whoſe kinſwoman he had married) he confirmed thoſe that wavered, ſatisfied thoſe that doubted, and won thoſe that contradicted in king Henry's cauſe. But he ſerved not king Hen-

Henry more faithfully in Germany, than he pro- Hen. 8.
vided for him honourably in England; where the king's cauſe waited for his aſſiſtance, and the ſee of Canterbury for his acceptance: he was willing to promote religion, he was unwilling (for ſome formalities he ſcrupled) to advance himſelf: but after ſeven weeks delay, it being as fatal to refuſe king Henry's favours, as to offer him injuries, he is archbiſhop in his own defence; in which capacity, to ſerve the king, and ſalve his own conſcience, he uſed the expedient of a proteſtation to this purpoſe: * *In nomine, &c. Non eſt nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujuſmodi Juramentum & Juramenta, qualiter verba in ipſis poſita ſonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquid ratione eorundem poſt hac dicendum, faciendum aut atteſtandum, quod erit aut eſſe videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra Regem, aut Rempublicam, legeſve, aut Prærogativa ejus: & quod non intendo per hujuſmodi juramentum quovis modo me obligare quo minus libere loqui, conſulere, & conſentire valeam in omnibus & ſingulis Reformationem Eccleſiæ, prerogativam Coronæ, concernentibus, & ea exequi & reformare quæ in Eccleſia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur.* This proteſtation he made three times; once at the Charter-Houſe,

* In the name, &c. It is not nor ſhall not be my will and intention by any oath or oaths of this kind, or by any words that may ſeem analagous in them, to bind myſelf to any thing, or by virtue hereof to ſay, act, or atteſt afterwards any thing that ſhall be or ſeem to be againſt the law of God, or againſt the king's the government, the laws or prerogative. All I intend by this, and no more, is to ſpeak, conſult, and conſent freely to all and ſingular the things concerning the reformation of the church, and the prerogative of the crown; and to go on, and reform thoſe things which ſhall ſeem neceſſary to be reformed in the church of England.

Hen. 8. Houſe; another time at the altar, and a third time at the receiving of his pall. In his place he was moderate, between the ſuperſtition of Rome and the phrenſies of Munſter. As he was chief inſtrument in beginning the reformation, ſo he was in continuing it: he withſtood the ſix articles, and (and though the king ſent five prime miniſters of ſtate to comfort him) would not be ſatisfied, until he ſaw them mitigated in king Henry's time, and repealed in king Edward's.

Gardiner would have queſtioned him for entertaining foreign hereticks, and promoting domeſtick ſchiſms; the northern rebels accuſed him for ſubverting the church: but the king upheld him againſt both; ſuppreſſing the one, and checking the other; and adviſing the good man, whom he called fool, for his meek diſpoſition, to appeal to him: whereupon Ruſſel cried, *The King will never ſuffer him to be impriſoned, until you find Him guilty of High Treaſon.* He is to be pitied for his intermediate failings, but renowned for his final conſtancy.

The king having declared before all his ſervants, that Cranmer was his beſt ſervant, he employeth him in his beſt ſervice, the reformation of religion, wherein all others failed; but the king, Cromwel, and Brandon backed him ſo far, that he had the bible and the neceſſary offices of the church tranſlated into engliſh: he had both univerſities at his command: he brought the lords houſe and convocation to his lure; and was inveſted with a power. 1. To grant diſpenſations in all things not repugnant to God's law, nor the king's ſafety: 2. To determine eccleſiaſtical

cauſes

cauſes. He as charitably as politickly adviſed the king to accept of biſhop Fiſher's partial ſubſcription, conſidering his learning and reputation. As he is king Henry's inſtrument at Dunſtable, to divorce him from queen Catherine; ſo he is at Lambeth, to divorce him from Anna Bullein. He promoted in the convocation all primitive doctrines, and condemned all new-fangled opinions. He was ſo charitable, that he interceded with the king for his enemies; ſo munificent, that he made the church and his own houſe a refuge for ſtrangers; particularly for P. Fagius, P. Martyr, Martin Bucer, &c. The king loved him for his integrity, the people for his moderation: he was *called* the king's *Father*, and *was* queen Elizabeth's *Godfather*: his piety reduced the church, and his policy the ſtate: he ſpake little to others, he conferred much with himſelf: three words of his could do more than three hours diſcourſe of others: he would ſay, as *Victorinus*, *There is a time to ſay nothing, there is a time to ſay ſomething, but there is never a time to ſay all things.* That king, who awed all others, feared him. A ſecond to the eternal power, is the wiſe man uncorrupt in his life. He was the *Executor* of *God's Will* in king Henry's life-time, and the firſt of *His*, after his death. Hen. 8.

As *He* ſpurred king Henry to a reformation, ſo king Edward did *Him*; whoſe prudence was not ſo forward as the other's zeal, who looked at what was lawful, as he did at what was convenient. He maintained the churches power as reſolutely againſt biſhop Hooper's ſcruples, notwithſtanding potent interceſſion; as he reformed its corruptions againſt the pope's intereſt, notwithſtanding

Hen. 8. withſtanding a general oppoſition. He allowed not the leaſt errour in, nor the leaſt contempt of the church: he reſtored its primitive doctrine and diſcipline, leſt it ſhould be an *impure Church*; he upheld them, leſt it ſhould be *none*. He was one of the fourteen that compiled the *Common-Prayer*: he was one of two that ſet out the homilies; and the only man that publiſhed the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man*, and other good books. With his advice king Edward did much, and deſigned more: he was the chief author of king Edward's injunctions, and the firſt commiſſioner in them: he was preſident of the aſſembly at Windſor, (for Reformation) and of the council at London: his articles were ſtrict and ſevere; as much grounded on the canon of ſcripture, as on the canons of the church: he convinced more papiſts with his reaſon and moderation, than others by their power: his heart never failed him in his life, and it was not burned at his death. He *did* ſo much for the proteſtant religion in king Henry's days, that he foreſaw he ſhould *ſuffer* for it in queen Mary's. He was unwilling to wrong queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, therefore he refuſed at firſt to ſign king Edward's *Teſtament*, but duke Dudley's *Will*: he was willing to continue the proteſtant religion, therefore he ſigned it at laſt. It was a biſhop that was one of the firſt that aboliſhed popery in England, and one of the laſt that died for proteſtantiſme: it was a biſhop that maintained the proteſtant cauſe with arguments while he lived, and with his blood when he died. This prelate's endeavor for reformation is ſhadowed by this myſtical relation.

The

The caſtle of truth (being by the king of Jeruſalem left to the guard and keeping of his beſt ſervant *Zeal*) the king of Arabia (with an infinite hoſt) came againſt it, begirt it round with an unreaſonable ſiege, cuts off all paſſages, all reliefs, all hopes of friends, meat, or munition: which *Zeal* perceiving, and ſeeing how extremity had brought her to ſhake hands with deſpair; he calleth his council of war about him, and diſcovered the affliction of his ſtate, the puiſſance of his enemies, the violence of the ſiege, and the impoſſibility of conveying either meſſages or letters to the great king his maſter, from whom they might receive new ſtrength and incouragement. Whereupon the neceſſity of the occaſion being ſo great, they concluded that there was no way but to deliver up the caſtle (though upon ſome unwholſome conditions into the hand of the enemy) but *Zeal* ſtaggereth at the reſolution, and being loath to looſe hope as long as hope had thread or hair to hold by; he told them he had one friend or companion in the caſtle, who was ſo wiſe, ſo valiant, and ſo fortunate, that to him and his exploits alone, he would deliver up the manage of their ſafety; this was *Prayer*, chaplain to the great king, and prieſt of that colony; then *Prayer* was called for, and all proceedings debated: he preſently armeth himſelf with humility, clemency, ſincerity and fervency; and in ſpight of the enemy paſſeth his camp, comes to the king his maſter, and with ſuch moving paſſion entereth his eares, ſo that preſently an army is rayſed, which returning under the conduct of *Prayer*, overthroweth the king of Arabia, makes ſpoyl of his camp, Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. and gives to the caſtle of truth its firſt noble liberty.

Obſervations on Sir Thomas More, *Lord Chancellour of England.*

HE roſe up high, becauſe he ſtept out well, ſir Thomas More was half way *Chancellour*, when born to ſir John More *Chief Juſtice.* The father's prudence, wit, and nobleneſs flowed with his blood to the ſon's veins: *Much* honour he received *from* his family, *more* he gave *to* it: his mother ſaw his face ſhining in a dream, on her wedding night; and his father ſaw his life ſo really: a quick city-ſpirit made him capable of great ſtate-employments.

He was ſaved by a *Miracle*, and was *One: For his Nurſe riding with him over a water, and being in ſome danger, threw him over a Hedge, where ſhe found him not hurt, but ſweetly ſmiling upon her.* *

A free-ſchool ſeaſoned his forward childhood; and the grave, wiſe, and excellent cardinal Morton's houſe his youth: the one with learning, to make him a ſcholar; the other with prudence to make him a man: but the diſtractions of that houſe were not ſo proper for his promiſing ingenuity, as the retirements of the univerſity; where in two years time he ſhewed what wonders wit and diligence could do in rhetorick, logick, and philoſophy: the ‡ colledge kept him ſtrict, and

* *St.* Anthonies under New-Hall.

‡ Chriſt-Church.

and his father ſhort, ſo that (as he bleſſed God afterward) *He had neither the leiſure nor the means to be vicious:* the cardinel ſaid he would be *Great*, and his excellent genius ſaid he would be *Humble:* the lord chancellour would give place *to*, and aſk bleſſing *of* the lord chief juſtice: the father being not more happy in his ſon, than the ſon in his father. At 17 *his wit* was eminent for his epigrams: his *Antilucian* oration commended by all men but Brixius, for pure, genuine and flowing: at 18 his wiſdom in overcoming his antagoniſt Brixius with kindneſs, and himſelf with mortifications. His faſtings were *frequent*, his watchings on the hard ground *ſevere*; his hair-cloath even in his chancellourſhip *courſe*, his exerciſes among the Carthuſians in Charterhouſe for four years *auſtere*; his deſign for the *Franciſcan* hood, and a prieſthood with his friend Lilly, *ſolemn*; his prayers *uninterrupted*; when the king ſent for him once at maſs, he anſwered, that *when he had done with God, he would wait on his Majeſty:* he imitated Picus Mirandula's life, and *writ* it: he heard Dr. Collet his confeſſours ſermons, and followed his life; whoſe experience was his counſel, whoſe converſation was his life. He could not away with the good ſermon of a bad man: Collet was his father; Linacre, Lilly, Grocine, were his friends. He learned more by prayer, than he did by ſtudy: his poems were acute, his ſpeeches pure and copious, his latine elegant; yet his head was knotty and logical: his diet was temperate, his apparel plain, his nature tractable and condeſcending (though very diſcerning) to the meaneſt mens counſel; his vertues ſolid, not boaſted. In Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. a word, the foundation of his life was as low as the building was to be high.

Words and terms being not by nature, but impoſition, **verborum ut nummorum*; thoſe were beſt liked by him that were moſt current amongſt the beſt artiſts; he fearing new words as leading to new things: though the quitting of ancient and allowed expreſſions to affect new phraſes will be no advantage at long run, for whatſoever be the forms of ſpeaking, the ſtate of things will be the ſame; and the very argument, that convinceth an erroneous perſon now in the old received and orthodox language, would convince him likewiſe in the new wayes of ſpeaking, which he deſires to introduce, after it is formed, and generally underſtood: all the benefit that he could make of it, would be only a little time between the ſuppreſſion of the one, and the introduction of the other, wherein he might jugle and play *Hocus Pocus* under the cloak of *Homonymous* and *Ambiguous* expreſſions. In vulgar appellations we are to ſpeak as the common people; but in terms of art (which ſaith Scaliger are † *rudibus ingeniis acerba, delicatis ridicula*) we are to follow the moſt approved artiſts, the muſhrome errours and hæreſies ſpringing up in his time he adviſed ſhould be rather ſuppreſſed by diſcipline, than increaſed by diſputations; they, who in the common principles of religion claſh ordinarily with the whole church; who ſo affectedly ſwerve from the approved rule, and healthful conſtitutions of all orderly common-wealths, to the diſturbance of all humane ſociety,

* Of words as of money.

† Harſh to the ignorant, ridiculous to the refined.

ſociety, and the cutting off of all relations be- Hen. 8.
tween man and man; they who cannot preſerve unity with themſelves, but are ever and anon interfereing and tripping up their own heels by contradictions, need no juſt confutation, or ſingle, or other adverſary than God, themſelves, and all mankind; ſince their opinions are grounded upon their own imaginations, rather than approved authority; and they interpret ſcripture not according to the perpetual tradition of the church, but according to their own diſtempered fancies, and that in diſcourſes more full fraught with ſupercilious confidence, than deep reaſon: it were a folly to draw the ſaw of contention with them, eſpecially in ſuch a caſe where it is impiety to doubt, and blaſphemy to diſpute; * *Quid cum illis agas; qui neque jus, neque bonum aut æquum ſciunt? Melius, pejus, proſit, obſit, nil vident niſi quod lubet.* Such daring mens opinions, creating truth, and falſehood by the words of their mouth, being like a pillar of ſmoak breaking out of the top of ſome narrow chimney, and ſpreading it ſelf abroad like ſome cloud, as if it threatened to take poſſeſſion of the whole region of the ayr, darkening the ſkye, and ſeeming to preſs the heavens; and after all this, when it hath offended the eyes a little for the preſent, the firſt puffe of wind, or a few minutes do altogether diſperſe it. The little mouſe ſtealeth up through the elephant's trunke to eat his brains; the Indian rat creepeth into

* What can you do with thoſe who are totally ignorant of juſtice, goodneſs or equity? Right or wrong equally influence them, ſince they diſtinguiſh nothing but as they pleaſe.

Hen. 8. into the belly of the gaping crocodile; and the leaſt oppoſition overthrows theſe great pretenders, eſpecially if you give them line and ſpace enough to bounce and tumble up and down, and tire themſelves out.

Great he judged was the influence religion had upon humane ſocieties, whether we conſider the nature of the thing, or the bleſſing of God; without which they are ſoapy bubbles, quickly diſſolved. Cicero could ſay that Rome ought more of its grandeur to religion, than either to ſtrength or ſtratagems; we have not exceeded the Spaniards in number, nor the Gaules in ſtrength, nor the Carthaginians in craft, nor the Græcians in art, &c. but we have overcome all nations by our piety and religion.

He eſteemed all common-wealths happy, but thoſe wherein preachers, like the Græcian ſophiſters, deſcribed in Plato all whatſoever pleaſed the great beaſt [the multitude] holy, juſt, and good; and whatſoever the great beaſt diſliked, evil, unjuſt, prophane.

He married himſelf to * vertue, and not to an eſtate: he likes a younger ſiſter, yet out of civility he embraceth the elder. Happy he was in his modeſt wives, happier in his hopeful children. His government of his family was exact, enjoyning all his children to *take Vertue for their meat, and Play for their ſauce.* His proficiency in the † law was admirable, his practice ſucceſsful, his judgment ſolid, his integrity eminent; his determinations in the ſheriffs court, his activity for the ſtilyard, his practice in the courts of

* He married mr. Colt's daughter of New-hall.

† Whereby he was double reader.

of juſtice, raiſed him to a place in parliament: Hen.
where he was ſo good a patriot, that he diſpleaſed king Henry the ſeventh; and ſo wiſe a man, that he awed king Henry the eight: the one by Fox demands one ſubſidie and three fifteens, and the *beardleſs boy* (as the courtiers called ſir Thomas) diſappointed him; the other made a motion by Wolſey, which he overthrew, ſo that the cardinal wiſhed him at Rome.

He retires to his ſtudies to avoid Henry the ſeventh's diſpleaſure, and improves them to gain his ſon's favour, who by his cardinal invited him to court, and employed him abroad to France to recover his debts; to Flanders, to confirm the peace. Employments he avoided a while, to keep his city-intereſt; and in caſe of controverſie with the king, to prevent their jealouſie: his buſineſs was ſo urgent, that you would think he had not no leaſure; and his writings ſo exact, that you would think he had no buſineſs. Not a minute of his time eſcaped employment. His hiſtory of Richard the third is faithful, his *Utopia* is judicious and elegant, his * lectures at St. Laurence were learned and pious.

His popularity in parliament commended him to his majeſty: his ſtrong arguments for the popeſhip in ſtar-chamber, brought him to him againſt his modeſt inclination, as much as againſt Wolſey's intereſt. His ability ſet him on the council-table, his integrity placed him in the exchequer: his † ſervices promoted him to the dutchy of Lancaſter, his dexterity and prudence made him the king's bo[illegible]me friend, and his familiar

* On St. Aug. de civitate Dei.

† He was made Chancellour of that Dutchy.

Hen. 8. familiar all his ſpare hours; whoſe queſtions in every art and ſcience were not more uſeful, than ſir Thomas his anſwers were ſatisfactory. His advice was his majeſties and his queen's oracles in counſel; his diſcourſe was their recreation at table. He was not more delightful to the king at court, than he was ſerviceable to him in appeaſing tumults, &c, in the city. He was the king's favourite at White-hall, and the peoples darling at Weſtminſter, where he was ſpeaker as well with the unanimous conſent of the one, as with the approbation of the other; and between both, impartial, equally careful of prerogative and priviledges; neither awed from right by power, nor flattered with popularity. He declined foreign ſervices with as much dexterity as he managed domeſtick ones. He ſerved the king faithfully, but truſted him not, as one that enjoyed and ſuſpected fortune, ſaying, *If his Head could win King* Henry *a Caſtle in Wales, it would off.*

The king and kingdome truſted him, *who* * *was that one ſound Councellour the King had.* The cardinal told him he was the verieſt fool in the council: he replied, *God be thanked my Maſter hath but one fool here.*

His honour was ſet off by a grave condeſcention, and a grave humility. Did he argue? he was very moderate, civil, and modeſt. Did he reprove? he was pitiful, grave, and prudent. Was he with the king at the univerſity? he was ready and eloquent. Was he abroad? he heard the

* Queen Catherine ſaid ſo.

the lectures attentively, and diſputed accurately.* To his friend as Dr. Tunſtal, none more faithful: to learned men as Eraſmus, none more civil: to devout men ſuch as biſhop Fiſher, none more firm; to hopeful men, ſuch as Powle, there was none more encouraging: to painful men, ſuch as Grocinus, Linacer, Crocus, Lupſel, Lilly, Cocklee, Budlera, Dorpin, Bewald, Luſcar, Grannould, Vives, Groclenius, Buſlidian, Ægidius, Rhenanus, none more familiar, conſtant, or liberal: in his conſcience none more ſatisfied and ſedate: in his diſcourſe none more innocent and pleaſant: in his heart none more devout and ſincere. Hen. 8.

His meditations were frequent; his retirements to a chappel, built of purpoſe, daily; his prayers conſtant and zealous; his converſation with his wives, loving and debonnair, taking them off their cares to reading and muſick. His ſervants were always employed either in his, or God's ſervice, ſuffering them not by idleneſs to be at leiſure for ſin, nor by wanton converſe to be tempted to it. His table-talk after the chapter was pleaſing and uſeful, his counſels uſeful, his converſe exemplary; his family inſtructions to bear afflictions patiently, to withſtand temptations reſolvedly, to mind heavenly matters devoutly, to go plainly and ſoberly, to recreate themſelves moderately and vertuouſly, were effectual. There went a bleſſing along with all his ſervants, and happineſs with his whole family.

His apothegms were grounded on experience and judgement. He would ſay, 1. *He was not always*

† A fellow at Bruges would undertake to anſwer any queſtion: Sir Thomas put up this a "Averia capta in Withernamia ſint irreplegiabilia," to that Thraſos great amazement.

Cattle taken in Withernam are not reprievable.

Hen. 8. *always merry that laughed.* 2. *The world is undone by looking on things at diſtance.* 3. *To aim at honour here, is to ſet up a Court of arms over a priſon-gate.* 4. *If I would employ my goods well, I may be contented to looſe them; if ill, I ſhould be glad.* 5. *He that is covetous when he is old, is as a thief that ſteals when he is going to the gallows.* 6. *Bags of gold to us when ſaints, will be but as a bag of pebble-ſtones when men.* 7. *The greateſt puniſhment in the world were to have our wiſhes.* 8. *Puſillanimity is a great temptation.* 9. *Affliction undoes many; Pleaſure moſt.* 10. *We go to hell with more pain than we might go to heaven with.* Of hereſie he ſaid, *Like as before a great ſtorm the ſea ſwelleth, and hath uuwonted motions without any wind ſtirring; ſo may we ſee here many of our Engliſhmen, which a few years ago could not endure to hear the name of an Heretick or Schiſmatick, now to be contented both to ſuffer them, and to praiſe them ſomewhat, yea, to learn by little and little, as much as they can be ſuffered, to finde fault, and to tax willingly the church, the clergy, and the ceremonies.* 11. *The more of any thing elſe we have, but riches, the more good we are.* 12. *Who would not ſend his alms to heaven? Who would not ſend his eſtate whether he is to be baniſhed?* 13. *Some men hate* hypocriſie *and love* impudence. 14. When any detracted others at his table, he ſaid, *Let any man think as he pleaſeth, I like this room well.* 15. *It's eaſier to* prevent *than* redreſs.

Indeed throughout his works he argueth ſharply, he reaſoneth profoundly, he urgeth aptly, ſtateth exactly, expreſſeth himſelf elegantly, and diſcourſeth learnedly. He would rather convince than puniſh; yet he would rather puniſh than

than indulge them: his epitaph beſpeaking him grievous to hereticks, thieves and murtherers. Hen. 8.

When king Henry ſcrupled his firſt marriage, Sir Thomas told him, *That neither he nor my lord of* Durham *were ſo fit to adviſe him in that caſe, as St.* Auguſtine, *St.* Jerome, *and the other Fathers.* His advice was ſo unſeaſonable, that it oppoſed the king; yet ſo grave and honeſt, that it pleaſed him. His experience and prudence had a fore-ſight next door to prophecy; and from the unquiet times of King Henry, did he gueſs the ruine of King Charles. He would ſay that it would never be well in *England*, until the ſame courſe obtained there, that did in Syria, where Seleucus was ſo ſevere againſt Innovators, that he enacted that if any man made a propoſition for a change in their policy, he ſhould make it with an halter about his neck, that if he failed to juſtify it by reaſon, he ſhould juſtify his attempt by ſuffering----becauſe as ſome philoſophers hold, that there is not ſo much as an aſpin leaf ſtirreth in one part of the world, but it maketh ſome alteration in the whole, the efficacy it, like Drake and Cavendiſh compaſſing the globe of the earth, and making the eighth ſphere of heaven tremble: ſo wiſe men know that every change in a ſtate altereth the conſtitution, and the effects of an innovation in the body politick circleth, as do thoſe of a new impreſſion, according to Harvey's method upon a body natural; though I muſt confeſs that many new propoſals are oppoſed; not for the diſtant effects of them feared in the common-wealth, but for ſome neer influence they may have upon ſome men's private intereſt. ---It hath been given out, that the burning of our heaths

Hen. 8. heaths in England, did hurt their vines in France: but wiſe men looked upon this pretenſe, as a meer ſcare-crow, or made-dragon; the hurt it did was neerer home, to deſtroy the young moore-fowles, and ſpoyl ſome young burgeſſes game.—He converted many with his arguments, more with his prayers, which workt wonders of reformation on the erroneous, as they did of recovery on the weak. He wiſhed three things to *Chriſtendom*: 1. An univerſal peace: 2. An uniform religion: 3. A reformation rather of lives than religion. He never asked any thing of his Majeſty but employment, and never took any thing more acceptable than ſervice. His alms were liberal to his neighbours, and good-works numerous towards God. He would take no fees from the poor, and but moderate ones from the rich. All London was obliged to him for his counſel at home, and all England for his peace at Cambray, where he out-did expectation.

The king raiſed him to the chancellorſhip, but not to his own opinion: he profeſſed he would ſerve his majeſty, but he *muſt* obey his God: he would keep the king's *conſcience* and his *own*. His wiſdome and parts advanced him, his innocence and integrity ruined him: his wit pleaſed the king, but his reſolution croſſed him. Wolſey was not ſo proud and reſerved, as Sir Thomas was open and free to the meaneſt; his mind was not ſo dazzled with honour, but he could for-ſee his fall. When his ſons complained how little they gained under him, *I will do juſtice* (ſaid he) *for your ſakes to any man, and I will leave you a bleſſing*; decreeing one day againſt his own ſon that would not hear reaſon. Firſt, he offered the judges

judges the reformation of grievances; and when they refuſed, he did it himſelf.---No *ſubpœna* was granted but what he * ſaw, no order but what he peruſed: nothing paſſed from him towards the ſubject, but what became a good magiſtrate, nothing towards his maſter, but what became a faithful ſervant. Neither King nor Queen could corrupt, neither could the whole church in convocation faſten any thing upon him. To one who told him of his detractors, he ſaid, *Would you have me puniſh thoſe by whom I reap more benefit than by all you my friends?* Perfect patience is the companion of true perfection. Hen. 8.

But he managed not his truſt with more integrity and dexterity, than he left it with honour; leaving not one cauſe undecided in the *Chancery:* foreſeeing that he could not at once content his majeſty and his own heart. His ſervants upon his fall he diſpoſed of as well as his children; and his children he taught to live ſoberly in a great eſtate, and nobly in a mean one. He never put an heretick to death when chancellour, neither would he ſuffer hereſies to live when a private man. When my Lord Cromwel came to him in his retirement, he adviſed him to tell the king what he ought, not what he can do; *ſo ſhall you ſhew yourſelf a true and faithful ſervant, and a right worthy councellour: for if a Lyon knew his own ſtrength, hard were it for any man to rule him.* The king feared him when he could not gain him, and therefore he was ſifted in his former carriage and preſent temper, which continued conſtant to his duty

* With the cauſe atteſted by the attorney, in token whereof when one Tubb brought him a Subpœna to ſubſcribe, finding it frivolous, he writ under it, A tale of a Tub.

Hen. 8. duty, and even under his changes. He was open-hearted to all that came, yet ſo wary in his diſcourſe with the maid of Kent, that his enemies confeſſed he deſerved rather honour than a check for that matter. When the Duke of Norfolk told him, *that the wrath of a prince is death*; he ſaid, *Nay, if that be all, you muſt die to morrow, and I to-day.* He behaved himſelf at all examinations at once wiſely and honeſtly. When archbiſhop Cranmer told him, *he muſt obey the king which was certain, rather than follow his conſcience, that* Lesbian *rule which was uncertain*; he replyed, *It's as certain that I muſt not obey the king in evil, as that I muſt follow my conſcience in good.* When the abbot of Weſtminſter told him, *his conſcience ſhould yield to the wiſdom of the kingdom*, he ſaid, *He would not conform his conſcience to* one kingdom, *but to the* whole church. He underwent his ſufferings with as much cheerfulneſs as his preferment; pleaſing himſelf with his misfortunes, and enjoying his miſery; reſolving to obey God rather than man, to leave others to their own conſciences; to cloſe with the Catholick church rather than the church of England, and to ſubmit to general councils rather than to parliaments.

Mr. Rich put to him this queſtion, *Whether if the parliament made a law that he were pope, would he not ſubmit to it?* And he replyed, *If the parliament made another that God ſhould not be God, would you obey it?* Though he could not own the king's ſupremacy, yet he would not meddle with it either in his writings or diſcourſe; ſhewing himſelf at once a civil man, a good Chriſtian, and a noble confeſſour. His ſoul was well ſettled; his ſtature was mean, but well proportioned; his com-

complexion phlegmatique; his countenance amiable and cheerful; his voice plain and diſtinct; and his temper ſound and healthful. Hen. 8.

I can add nothing to the *honour* of this good man, yet will I pay this further devotion to his *virtue*, whereof honour *was* a *teſtimony*, as long as it *was* its *ſelf:* worthleſs men having made the honour beſtowed on them as *deſpicable* as themſelves that wore it; that royal favour receiving more contempt from them, than it gave reputation to them. A good name, the great inſtrument of doing good while we live, and our other life when dead, could (he ſaid) if any thing juſtify the barbarous way of duels: ſince he is the moſt bloody man to himſelf, that is careleſs of reputation. So as to be indifferent what he doth; or what others ſay; is to bury himſelf alive.

His credit, which he ſaid was his royalty (there being but two empires in the world, the one a general love and eſteem, the other common dread and fear---) put him upon, being watchful for occaſions, conſtant in his actions, moderate in proſperity; reſolute in encounters; calme in troubles, above fortune, and able to make and piece up the broken miſcarriages of chance, that he might be ſettled in that ſtate, which is the work of greatneſs, and the inheritance of goodneſs, the proſpect whereof is pleaſant (though the aſcent be ſharp and ſlippery, the top ſhaking, the footing uncertain, and the downfall fearful:) and the reflections of it, when moderated with humility like thoſe of the ſun, when allayed in his declenſion, pleaſing and chearful. Towards the attainment whereof, the lives of former worthies were ſuch incitements to this, as Hercules was to

Hen. 8. Theſus, Militades to Themiſtocles, and Achilles to Alexander;----And nothing, the good man would diſcourſe, ſhould men be more tender of, than of mens honour, ſince there were but two effectual reſtraints from vice, *ſhame* and fear; and but two motives to virtue, honour and intereſt; the firſt of which is ſo much the darling peculiarly of the Engliſh nation; that this is called by a French author, the land of honour. His fall was attended with a greater fame than his height; as the ſun in the evening hath a greater ſhadow than at noon.

Who is the honeſt man?
He that doth ſtill and ſtrongly good purſue,
To God, his Neighbour and himſelf moſt true:
Whom neither force nor fawning can
Unpin or wrench from giving all their due.

Whoſe honeſty is not
So looſe and eaſie, that a ruffling winde,
Can blow away, or glitt'ring look it blinde:
Who rides his ſure and even trot
While the world now rides by, now lags behinde.

Who, when great trials come,
Nor ſeeks, nor ſhuns them; but doth calmly ſtay,
Till he the thing and the example weigh
All being brought into a ſum,
What place or perſon calls for, he doth pay.

Whom none can work or wooe
To uſe in any thing a trick or ſleight;
For above all things he abhors deceit:
His words and works and faſhion too
All of a piece, and all are clear and ſtreight.

Who

Who never melts or thaws Hen. 8.
At cloſe tentations : when the day is done,
His goodneſs ſets not; but in dark can run:
The Sun to others writeth laws,
And is their virtue; virtue is his ſun.

Who, when he is to treat
With ſick folks, women, thoſe whom paſſion ſway,
Allows for that, and keeps his conſtant way;
Whom others faults do not defeat,
But though men fail him, yet his part doth play.

Whom nothing can procure,
When the wide world runs bias, from his will
To writhe his limbs, and ſhare, not mend the ill,
This is the mark-man, ſafe and ſure,
Who ſtill is right, and prays to be ſo ſtill.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas Cromwel, *Earl of* Eſſex.

Moſt of them from the notes of Thomas Cromwel, *Eſquire, one of his poſterity, who made a collection of obſervations upon him,* 1633. *from the anceſtors of Baronet* Wolſeley, *and Sir* Ralph Hopton, *who had been his ſervant.*

PUTNEY ſaw his cradle in a cottage, and England ſaw his coffin in a ditch; his original was mean, his end meaner: a ſuddain height in an unſettled time ruined him: A moderate and leaſurely greatneſs is ſafe. His blood ran *low*, but *pure*, ennobling the veins it flowed Lloyd.

Hen. 8. in with a ſpirit that was to raiſe a family, and *deſerve* that honour that others *inherit*. His honeſt parents conveyed him a ſtrong conſtitution that could ſupport ſtronger parts: The poor mans good temper is an inheritance, and the rich his effeminacy his diſeaſe.

A private ſchool civilized his parts; travel and employment improved them: his neceſſity, when at home, made him a *Soldier* abroad; and his obſervations abroad made him a *Man* at home: the experience of travel enlarged his ſoul, and the hardſhip of war knitted and conſolidated it: his *hard Fortune at Cambray* was the occaſion of his *good One in England*; and had he not been undone, he *had been undone:* for his promiſing looks commended him to Freſcobald the merchant for relief, and to cardinal Wolſey for ſervice, in whoſe private ſervice of *Secretary* for his embaſſie in France, he prepared himſelf for that more publick of *Secretary* of *State* in England. Great ſcholar he was none, (the latine teſtament gotten by heart being his maſter-piece) nor ſtudied lawyer: never admitted to the innes of court; nor experienced ſouldier, though neceſſity caſt him upon it, when the duke of Bourbon beſieged Rome; nor courtier (till bred up in cardinal Wolſey's court:) yet that of the lawyer in him ſo helped the ſcholar, that of the ſouldier the lawyer, that of the courtier the ſouldier, and that of the traveller all the reſt; being no ſtranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, moſt familiar with Italy; ſo that the reſult of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to ſay admirable. His apprehenſion was quick and clear; his judgment

methodical and ſolid; his memory ſtrong and rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his preſence ſtately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his way induſtrious and indefatigable; his correſpondence well laid, and conſtant; his converſe inſinuating and cloſe: none more *dexterous* to finde out by his ſetting-dogges, and coy-ducks; none more *reſerved* to keep a ſecret. He was equal (ſaith my author) to the French politicians, when under his maſter; he over-reached them when alone; doing more in one month with his ſubtle head, than the other in twelve months with his ſtately train. The king of France would have *penſioned* up his parts, but the vice-roy of England advanced them. His maſter brought him firſt to ſerve his country in parliament (that great ſchool of experience) and then his king at court; where defending his maſter's great actions, he made it evident he could perform greater. His ſaying in defence of his maſter, that new ſtates-men, like freſh flies, bite deeper than thoſe which were chaſed away before them, ſtuck much with the houſe, that was then ſenſible, that many of the country-gentlemen diſcourſed of the court-ſtates-men, but with the ſame ſucceſs that the gown-man harangued it before Alexander of military affairs, who laughed at the ſcholar for talking of war to a ſouldier: his defence of his maſter being the more obſervable for his civilities to his adverſaries, he being very cautious of reflecting upon his patrons enemies, while he excuſed him, the beſpattering of others being not the beſt method of purging him, and *Memnon* gave a railing Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. ſouldier a good blow with his launce, ſaying, *I hired thee to fight, and not to raile.*----Neither delighted he in being the *Davus*, the troubler of the *Parliament*, which he obſerved play'd the part of fond muſicians, which ſpend ſo much time in tuning their inſtruments; that there is none left to ſpare for their muſick.----He wiſhed that our reformation might be in one reſpect, like the reformation of the Turkes, who thought that the beſt way to underſtand the *Alcoran*, was to burn all the interpreters, it being true of the *Bible*, what one obſerveth of one text of it, that was clear before it was commented upon: a truth become ſeaſonable [as there is no new thing under the ſun, and what hath been, will be] in a leſs revolution of time, than Plato's great year, even in our times, when paſſion guides religion, that ſhould be governed by it, as being without it, but a ſhort madneſs turning man into a wild beaſt that is goared, which runneth upon every thing that cometh it its way, without conſideration: or like a violent torrent deſcending down impetuouſly from a ſteep hill: which beareth down all reſpects before it, divine and humane; for whilſt paſſion is in the heighth, there is no room for reaſon, nor any uſe of the dictates of the underſtanding, the mind for the time being like the *Cyclopian* cave, where no man heard what another ſaid,---only what they want in them ſingly in reaſon, may joyntly be made up in noiſe; and their reſpective defects in arguments, be ſupplied by their communion in ſuffrage.---And it is the wiſdom of thoſe, who are concerned in what they oppoſe, to ſtand out of their way, at leaſt till the ſtorm be over;

*——*Omnis*

*———*Omnis campis diffugit Arator*
Omnis & Agricola———
———*Dum pluit in terris, ut poſſint ſole reducto*
Exercere diem.———

Their reaſon with time and due conſideration will be better attended to, when this earneſtedneſs hath a little ſpent its ſelf into a calmneſs and allay. Such was his wit, ſuch his eloquence, that they who hated the client, admired the advocate: and though he could not keep his patron from falling, yet he raiſed himſelf; that being the firſt time his eminent parts were obſerved. An advantageous ſtarting is more than half way in the race of preferment. For hereupon he is firſt maſter of the king's jewels, and then of what was more precious, his *Secrets*. His conſcience inclined him to the churches reformation, his intereſt complied with the king's; he unlocked the ſecrets of monaſteries by his ſpies, and put the king upon deſtroying them by his power. The univerſity of Cambridge made him chancellor, to ſave it ſelf; where though he did no great good, yet his greatneſs kept others from doing harm, in an age wherein covetouſneſs could quarrel a colledge, as well as an abbey, into ſuperſtition. He was truſted by the king with the rolls and records of England; and by the ſcholars, with the charters and ſtatutes of their univerſities. He reforms the univerſity, in order to the re-

* As when thick hail comes ratling in the wind,
The plowman, paſſenger, and lab'ring hind
For ſhelter to the neighb'ring covert fly,
Or hous'd, or ſafe in hollow caverns lye:
But that o'er blown, when heaven above 'em ſmiles,
Return to travel, and renew their toils.
Dryden's Virgil, Æned 10.

Hen. 8. reformation of the church; enjoyning the ſtudy of the ſcripture and the tongues, inſtead of ſchool-divinity and barbariſm; recommending *Ariſtotle*, *Agricola*, *Melanthon*, to their reading; and the doctrine which is in ſpirit and in truth to their faith: and razing the pope's bulls, to make way for the king's favour, and that architectonical power, to ſee that all ſubjects within his dominion, do their duties in their ſeveral callings, for the ſafety and tranquility of the common-wealth.

He was an eminent miniſter of ſtate, and chief governour of the church; proceeding in convocation very diſcreetly, modelling the church laws very prudently and moderately: looking into monaſtical abuſes very narrowly and induſtriouſly; mawling religious houſes, violently pulling down thoſe neſts, that the rooks might not return: his maſter had diſobliged the pope, and he weakeneth him. It was not ſafe to diſown his ſupremacy, and entertain thouſands of his creatures: *If a Kingdom be divided againſt it ſelf, it cannot ſtand*; and if one part of the Engliſh pay their devotion to a ſupream head at Rome, and another to a ſupream governour in England, they muſt both fall. If the perſons might diſturb the government, it is fit their eſtates ſhould ſecure it; and if the papiſts ſhould foment a war, their lands ſhould maintain it: but Cromwell contrives that the Pope ſhould confirm allienations in Wolſey, before he ſhould practiſe it for the king. As the king knew whom he employed, when he truſted him: ſo he knew whom he truſted, when he employed doctor Lee (an able ſervant to an abler maſter) he firſt decoyed religious men out of their convents by the allurement

of

of *Liberty*, and then forced them out by *Power* Hen. 8.
and *Authority*. As the abbeys improved his eſtate, ſo his maſter advanced his honour. He had one privy ſeal always to act by, and was keeper of another: he had no ſooner attained an earldom for himſelf, but foreſeeing the alteration of affairs, he ſecured a barony for his ſon, not forfeitable by the attainder of the father. Within five years he was maſter of the jewel-houſe, chancellor of the exchequer, ſecretary of ſtate, baron, and viſcount Wimbledon in Middleſex, vicar general, maſter of the rolls, knight of the garter, keeper of the privy ſeal, lord high chamberlain, and earl of Eſſex, juſtice in eyre of forreſts, chaſes, and parks, *&c. N. Trent.* Within five months he quitted moſt of theſe places, and in five minutes loſt all. He muſt needs be envied, whoſe birth was ſo much beneath all others, and his preferment above them: eſpecially when the king in preferring him injured others; as, the citizens, in managing the jewels; the courtiers, in undertaking ſtate-affairs; the lawyers, in the rolls *; the nobly deſcended, at † Windſor; the clergy, in the ‡ convocation; the earl of Oxford, and the family of the Bourchiers, in the great chamberlainſhip and earldom of Eſſex. But he cares not whom he diſpleaſeth, if he can oblige his maſter; whoſe power he advanceth in the parliament and ſynod, as he improveth his revenue in the office of firſt-fruits, and the court of augmentation. His greatneſs was allayed with his goodneſs; and the envy of the

* When maſter thereof.
† When knight of the garter.
‡ When vicar general.

Hen. 8. the one, mitigated by the liberality of the other: he had not more ſuiters at his door than almesmen (two hundred at a time:) as he was good abroad, ſo he was at home, calling upon his ſervants yearly, to give him an account what they had got under him; and what they deſired of him, warning them to improve their opportunities; becauſe he ſaid, he was too great to ſtand long; providing for them as carefully, as for his ſon, by his purſe and credit, that they might live as handſomely when he was dead, as they did when he was alive. Sir Thomas was a name of awe and reverence to the rich, and bleſſed by the poor: that name, when his fortune and power tempted him to an inſolency, * levelled the proudeſt citizens houſe for his conveniency, and bowed the pooreſt man's knee to his honour, his mind being equal to his ſucceſs. He could at pleaſure work upon the lords by the commons, and on the commons by the lords: as cardinal Wolſey perſwaded the commons to four ſhillings in the pound upon the lords preſident; and the lords to as much upon the commons: and he kept up the cardinal's way of anticipation, that the people ſhould be always one ſubſidy before-hand. He ſet up the old taxation of knight-hood at queen Anne's coronation, and levied it, making amends to the people for all his hard impoſitions: becauſe as *Veſpaſian* to the *Romans*, ſo *He* to the *Engliſh*, was † *Antiquo cultu victuque præcipuus aſtricti moris Author*; by his obſerving of the ancient diet of the country,

* Stowe Sur. London.

† This ſentence is engliſhed, by thoſe lines that immediately follow it.

trey, and the old faſhion of apparel, he was to them a principal author of their frugality. Hen. 8.

He confirms the king's ſupremacy by a law, and eſtabliſheth his daughter Elizabeth's ſucceſſion by an oath, firſt taken by the parliament, and then by the kingdom: for whoſe ſupport he contrives the leſſer monaſteries ſhould be firſt eſcheated, and then the greater. He was ſo honeſt, that he acquits queen Anne in his letter to the queen; yet ſo much a ſtateſman, that he condemn'd her upon the bench.

But to ſecure the intereſt of England, he by countenancing the tranſlation, and reading of the Engliſh bible, improved its religion; that as ſome few late acts had diſobliged the pope, a new frame of chriſtianity might exclude him: the differences between us and Rome, were to be widened, leſt they ſhould *cloſe*; and he judged it prudence to engage the conſcience and the eſtate in one bottom, that he might hold the one out of the tenderneſs of the other. He uſed to anſwer, thoſe that applauded his ſervice in the reformation, that if he ſhould arrogate to himſelf any part in that revolution of providence, he ſhould be like the flie on the cart-wheel, that ſaid, what a duſt do I raiſe. The king's ſupremacy cut off the papiſts, and the ſix articles the proteſtants: reformation muſt be managed leaſurely, and alteration of religion by juſt degrees; inſtruction preceding execution, and the peoples capacity growing up with their governours regulation. The mountainous expectation of a reformation, ſome told him merrily ended in a mouſe; but he anſwered ſadly, that it had been well it had not ended in a *Mouſe-trap*, that

is

Hen. 8. is a ſnare to *many* good people; as well as a diſappointment *to all.*

The times are troubleſome, but Cromwel calm and quiet, and watchful over occurrences; inſurrection giving him an advantage of a new ſettlement. He takes down the occaſions and ornaments of idolatry, images, ſhrines, pilgrimages, &c. and then the thing it ſelf: take off the paint of Rome, and you undo her. As the laws and injunctions, ſo the alliance of England muſt ſecure its intereſt: a proteſtant queen muſt be married to the reformed king; the duke of Cleve's ſiſter muſt woo the king, that Eſſex might have that whiſpered in the king's boſom abed, where he was *beſt* diſpoſed, which he inſinuated into his ear at the council-table where he was *worſt*. But the king was not ſo well pleaſed with her beauty, as Cromwel was with her religion: which Stephen Gardiner (who hated her for her religion, and Cromwel for his greatneſs) obſerving, ſhewed the king's looſe affections, at once how to be rid of his match, and, which he was as weary of, his match-maker. The queen is divorced (being never known by Henry, who diſliked her at firſt view, and kept her rather in policy, to oblige the *German* princes, than of pleaſure to fill his own bed.) Cromwel is arreſted for preſuming to act in ſome matters of ſtate without the king's privity or commiſſion, and attainted by a procedure he had invented; dying as cunningly as he had lived, for ſome * ambiguous words which *Power* interpreted to his *Ruine*. His

* As when one ſaid he was accuſed for diſloyalty to the king, he ſaid, he would ſtab him with his dagger, if he were.

His laſt words were ſo wary, that they might become Bellarmine and Luther at once; that the proteſtants call them his confeſſion of faith, and the papiſts his old religion. And neither is he to be blamed, unleſs his troubleſome adverſaries will accuſe him, as the quarrelſome *Roman* did his antagoniſt, *Becauſe he would not receive his weapon fairly with his whole Body*: for confeſſing his offences againſt God and the king, in his many employments, he ſaid he died in the *Catholique Faith.* Some will ſay the proteſtants think no great gain to have him, and the papiſts no loſs to part with him; yet we muſt needs confeſs that he was a *Wiſe Man*, becauſe he always conſulted the learned in the laws about all his proceedings. He was a *Good Man*, witneſs Freſcobald, whoſe mean perſon he took notice of, whoſe ſmall kindneſs he acknowledged, whoſe ſervices he condeſcended to, whoſe wants he relieved, and whoſe debts he recovered: he was a *Noble-Man*, becauſe he refuſed another man's coat of arms who was of his name, ſaying, *What ſhall I do with it? for he may pull it off my back at pleaſure.* In a word, he was ſo mean before he roſe, ſo worthy afterwards, that no times had raiſed but thoſe more troubleſome, none ruined him but thoſe moſt looſe of Henry the viii. Some reſerved mens parts he compared to meat in a great Colcheſter oyſter, which would hardly requite the pains of opening.---But infinitely was he taken with thoſe who were (as he called them) like the Statues of Apollo, had a lance in one hand, and an harp in another; that is reſolution to awe on the one ſide, and ſweetneſs to oblige on the other.---Being much pleaſed Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. pleaſed likewiſe with the reflecting man, who needs not the dull way of Perſia, to keep a boy behind him, to bid him remember what he is, and what he ought to do; and with the devout courtier: for as the ennamel, which adorneth the dove's neck, never ſhines ſo clear and glorious, as when the ſun looks upon it; ſo great men are never ſo full of majeſty themſelves, as when they own the majeſty of God; never more Gods among men, as when humble men before God; who [as St. Lewis of France once affirmed] boweth the hearts of men to a ſubjection to them, who kneel in adoration to him.

He loved not the men that pedantically boaſted their reading, but that rationally made uſe of it; not ridiculouſly upon all occaſions vaunting the ſhreds of it, but ſkilfully to good purpoſes couching the reſult and ſubſtance of it. —So the admirable old man Epictetus, as Lucian calls him that famed ſtoick, whoſe lamp was preſerved as a relique, and ſold for three thouſand drachmas, would ſay, [*Enchier c.* 16] that ſheep bring not their graſs to their ſhepherd, to ſhew him how much they have eaten, but concocting their meat inwardly do bring forth wool and milk.---True learning is the improvement of other mens ſtudies and experiences by our own meditation, adding to that frame by conſideration, which they had built from the ground by many ages obſervation.

The

The Lord *Herbert*'s Character of CROMWEL.

AND to this end came Cromwel, who from being but a Black-ſmith's Son, found means to travel into foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to ſee the Wars (being a Souldier of Bourbon at the taking of Rome;) whence returning, he was received into Cardinal Wolſey's ſervice: to whom he ſo approved himſelf by his fidelity and diligence, that the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his ſervant; in which place he became a ſpecial inſtrument for diſſolving the abbeys and other religious houſes, and keeping down the clergy; whom, in regard of their oath to the pope, he uſually termed the king's half ſubjects: and for expelling the monks, he ſaid it was no more than a reſtoring them to the firſt inſtitution, of being lay and labouring perſons: neither did it move him that ſo much ſtrictneſs and auſterity of life was enjoyned them in their ſeveral orders, ſince, he ſaid, they might keep it in any condition. But as theſe reaſons again were not admitted by divers learned and able perſons, ſo he got him many enemies, who at laſt procured his fall; but not before he had obtained ſucceſſively the dignities of maſter of the rolls, baron, lord privy ſeal, vicegerent to the king in ſpiritualities, knight of the garter, earl of Eſſex, great chamberlain of England, &c. He was much noted in the exerciſes of his places of judicature, to have uſed much moderation; and in his greateſt pomp to have

Hen. 8. *have taken notice and been thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance; and therein had a virtue which his maſter the cardinal wanted.*

As for his other deſcriptions, I leave them to be taken out of Cranmer's letter formerly mentioned, with ſome deduction; for it ſeems written to the king in more than ordinary favour of his antient ſervice.

Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*'s Character of *Cromwel*, in a Letter to King *Henry* the Eighth.

WHO cannot be ſorrowful and amazed, that he ſhould be a traitor againſt your majeſty? he that was ſo advanced by your majeſty, he whoſe ſurety was only by your majeſty, he who loved your majeſty (as I ever thought) no leſs than God; he who ſtudied always to ſet forwards whatſoever was your majeſties will and pleaſure, he that cared for no man's diſpleaſure to ſerve your majeſty; he that was ſuch a ſervant in my judgment, in wiſdom, diligence, faithfulneſs and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had: he that was ſo vigilant to preſerve your majeſty from all treaſons, that few could be ſo ſecretly conceived, but he detected the ſame in the beginning. If the princes of noble memory, king John, Henry IV. and Richard II. had had ſuch a counſellor about them, I ſuppoſe they ſhould never have been ſo traiterouſly aban-

abandoned and overthrown as thoſe good princes were. After which, he ſays again, *I loved him as my friend, for ſo I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I ſaw him bear ever towards your grace, ſingularly above all other: but now, if he be a traytor, I am ſorry that ever I loved, or truſted him; and I am very glad that his treaſon is diſcovered in time: but yet again, I am very ſorrowful; for who ſhall your grace truſt hereafter, if you might not truſt him? alas! I bewail and lament your graces chance herein! I wot not whom your grace may truſt. But I pray God continually night and day, to ſend ſuch a counſellor in his place, whom your grace may truſt, and who for all his qualities can and will ſerve your grace like to him; and that will have ſo much ſolicitude and care to preſerve your grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had.* Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Audley.

SIR Thomas Audley's birth was generous, his education more: Eſſex bred him to that honour which his anceſtors loſt: His ſoul ennobled his body, and his body graced his ſoul: The one quick, ſolid, apprehenſive and judicious; the other tall and majeſtic: *King Henry loved a man* and here was one whoſe auſterity was allayed by debonairneſs, whoſe gravity was ſweetened with pleaſantneſs; whoſe knowledge was as Lloyd.

Hen. 8. large as his authority, whoſe wit was equal with his wiſdom; whoſe memory was ſtrong and judgment ſolid. His fair eſtate brought him to the temple; his proficiency in the law, to the court: His *reading* upon the ſtatute of *privileges* commended him to the king's *ſervice*, his *ſpeaking* for the *prerogative* in parliament brought him to the kings *favour*: Although the liberties of the people can never be ſecured without the prerogative of the ſovereign (who cannot do the good they would, if he wants a power to do the evil they fear;) yet his firſt preferment was to withdraw him from popularity, and the ſecond only to confirm him to ſovereignty. *Noble ſervice* is the way to a *Royal one*. His ſtewardſhip to the Dutchy of Suffolk, raiſed him to the attorneyſhip of that of Lancaſter. But in troubleſome and deſigning times a popular orator is a good courtier; and leading parts in parliament or convocation are great merits: In the black parliament he was a member by his own intereſt, and a ſpeaker by his majeſties choice: Sir Thomas More was to ſerve the crown in the Lords-houſe, and Sir Thomas Audley was to ſucceed him in the Houſe of Commons. When Abbey-Lands were beſtowed on the king in groſs, and [illegible] turned by him to the leading lords and commons in the retayl, moſt of that parliament looked for ſhares; Sir Thomas for the firſt *cut*, to ſecure himſelf with the king. He was always in favour with the Queens, who had no leſs intereſt in the Kings *heart*, than the kingdom had in his *head*. The age was uncertain, intereſt not ſo; Sir Thomas was fixed on the one, above the alterations of the other; underſtanding what was moſt

con-

convenient at a time when there was nothing *lawful.* He was well ſeen in the flexures and windings of affairs, at the depth whereof other heads not ſo ſteady turned giddy: He had the arts of a ſtateſman, and the cloſeneſs of a politician: reſerved he was, but no diſſembler. "For if a man "have that penetration of judgement, as he can "diſcern what things are to be laid open, and "what to be kept ſecret, and what to be ſhewed "with half ſights, and to whom and when, "(which indeed are arts of ſtates and arts of life,) "to him an habit of diſſimulation is a hinderance "and a poorneſs." He (as an able man) was always frank and open, but wary; knowing how to ſtop and turn within the compaſs of equity and honeſty. He underſtood *buſineſs* well, and *men* better; and knew King Henry's temper better than himſelf, whom he ſurprized always to his own bent, never moving any of his ſuits to him, but when in haſte, and moſt commonly amuſing him with other matter until he paſſed his requeſt. His actions were managed for applauſe as well as ſervice: for when made ſergeant, he was the firſt of eleven; his entertaining-day was the laſt of ſix: The king, who paid for his dinner, was invited to it. He watched the circumſtances of his actions, that they might be taking, as well as their iſſue, that they might be uſeful; and contrived that the leaſt of his public actions ſhould come off with reputation. He followed the moſt paſſable rather than the moſt able men living, in a time when active men were more uſeful than the virtuous. Sir Thomas at once gratified the preſent humour of the king, and the conſtant temper of the people, in ſix bills againſt the clergy: 1. Hen. 8.

Hen. 8. Againſt the extortions of their courts. 2. The exaction of their corps and mortuaries. 3. Their worldly occupations, as grazing, tanning, &c. 4. Merchandize. 5. Their non-reſidencies. 6. The pluralities of the ignorant, and the mean ſalaries of the learned. When in ſome debates between the lords and commons, cuſtome was urged; Sir Thomas replied, *The uſage hath ever been for thieves to rob at Shooter's-hill, is it therefore lawful?* He brought the clergy within a *præmunire*, to awe them; and afterwards in their pardon, he and other members included their own; which the knowing king would not paſs, when it was demanded as of right; yet afterwards granted it of his own accord, when it was received as of grace. When Sir Thomas More could not act with the times, Sir Thomas Audley could; the one being weary of the ſeal, the other takes it; being made lord-keeper in Sir Thomas his life-time, and lord-chancellour after his death, owning no opinion againſt the government of England, nor any deſign againſt its intereſt. The king might well truſt him with his conſcience, when he truſted the king with *his*, owning no doctrine but what was eſtabliſhed, ever judging the church and ſtate wiſer than himſelf. He was forced to *take* Q. Anne, but he would not condemn her; rather *eſcaping* than *refuſing* unwelcome employments, wherein he muſt either diſpleaſe his maſter or himſelf. He was *tender*, but not *wilful*: waving ſuch ſervices *dexterouſly*, wherein he muſt oppoſe his maſter *dangerouſly*. Thoſe inſurrections which others rigor had raiſed, his moderation allayed; breaking the factions with indulgence, which might be ſtrengthened with oppoſition:

Crom-

Cromwel pulled down popery with his power, Audley kept it down with his policy, enjoining the preachers to detect the follies of that way, which is reckoned the wiſdom of this world. He had a moderate way to ſecure the priviledges of parliament, by freedom from arreſts; and the good will of the citizens, by an order about debts. Hen. 8.

By theſe courſes he died as much in the kings favour as he lived: Patience can weather out the moſt turbulent age, and a ſolid judgement the moſt intricate times; the reſerved and quiet man is the moſt ſecure. Activity may raiſe a man, warineſs keep him up. If he had done nothing, he had not been ſeen; if he had done much, he had not been ſuffered. Between two extreams Audley could do well.

Treaſure of arms *and* arts, *in whom were ſet*
The mace *and* books, *the* court *and* colledge *met*;
Yet both ſo wove, that in that mingled throng
They both comply, *and* neither neither *wrong.*
But pois'd and temper'd each reſerv'd its ſeat;
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat.
The courtier was not of the furious *ſtrain,*
The hand that acts, *doth firſt conſult the brain.*
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice *and* might,
The ſcholar *did direct the* courtier *right.*
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conſpire,
And twiſt their curles above the hallowed fire,
Till in that harmony of ſweets combin'd,
We can nor musk *nor ſingle* amber *finde*;
But gums *meet* gums, *and their delights ſo crowd,*
That they create one undiſtinguiſhed cloud,
So to thy mind theſe rich ingredients preſt,
And were the mould *and* fabrick *of thy breſt.*

Hen. 8. Learning *and* courage *mixt, and temper'd ſo,*
The ſtream could not decay *nor* overflow.
And in that equal *tide, thou did'ſt not bear*
From courage, raſhneſs; *nor from* learning, fear.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wiat.

Lloyd. SIR Thomas Wiat was born at Allington-caſtle in the county of Kent, which afterwards he repaired with beautiful buildings. He fell out of his maſter King Henry the Eight his favour, about the buſineſs of Queen Anna Bulein, till his induſtry, care, diſcretion and innocence freed him. Very ingenious he was; or as his anagram tells us he was (*A*Wit*) in the abſtract. Cambden ſaith he was,

Eques auratus ſplendide doctus.

Holy he was and heavenly minded, and that appears by his tranſlation of David's pſalms into Engliſh metre; and Leland gives him this great commendation:

Bella ſuum merito jactet Florentia Dantem,
Regia Petrarchæ Carmina Roma probat,
His non inferior Patrio Sermone Viatus,
Eloquii ſecum qui decus omne tulit.

Let Florence *fair her* Dantes *juſtly boaſt,*
And royal Rome *her* Petrarch's *numbered feet,*
In Engliſh Wiat *both of them doth coaſt,*
In whom all grateful eloquence doth meet.

This knight being ſent ambaſſador by King Henry

* A knight whoſe learning was conſpicuous.

Henry the eighth, to Charles the fifth Emperour, then reſiding in Spain, before he took ſhipping, died of the peſtilence in the weſt-country, Anno 1541. Hen. 8.

Queen Anne's favour towards him, raiſed this man: and his faithfulneſs to her ruined him: So fickle is that man's ſtation that depends only on humour, or holds off love and hatred! *Let my friend* (ſaith Malvezzi) *bring me* in, *but let my merit and ſervice keep me there.*

Four things a man went to dine with Sir Thomas Wiat for: 1. For his generous entertainment. 2. For his free and knowing diſcourſe of Spain and Germany; an inſight in whoſe intereſt was his maſter-piece, ſtudied by him as well for the exigence of that preſent juncture, as for his own ſatisfaction. 3. For his quickneſs in obſerving, his civility in entertaining, his dexterity in employing, and his readineſs in encouraging every mans peculiar parts and inclinations. 4. For the notice and favour the king had for him. So ready was he to befriend worthy men, and ſo ready was the king to entertain his friend; that when a man was newly preferred, they ſaid, *He had been in Sir* Thomas Wiat's *cloſet.* Happy is the prince that had a faithful favourite, to look him out ſerviceable men! and happy thoſe uſeful perſons, that have a familiar and honeſt favourite, by whom they may have acceſs to the prince. A favourite that ſerves not his country ſo much by employing and pleaſing its active members, as he ſecures his king, who hath no leſs need of counſel in reference to *men*, then *things.*

His wit pleaſed the king, and his wiſdome ſerved him: He could not be without his advice at

Hen. 8. at the council-table, nor without his jeſts in his preſence-chamber: where yet he obſerved his *decorum* ſo exactly, that his majeſty could by no means win him one night to dancing; this being his grave reſolution, *That he who thought himſelf a wiſe man in the day-time, would not be a fool at night:* otherwiſe none carry'd himſelf more handſomely, none converſed more ingeniouſly and freely, none diſcourſed more facetiouſly or ſolidly. In a word, it was his peculiar happineſs, that his deportment was neither too ſevere for King Henry the eighth's time, nor too looſe for Henry the ſeventh's; neither all honey nor all gall, but a ſweet mixture and temperament of affability and gravity, carrying an equal meaſure of Sir Thomas More's ingenuity in his head, and Sir Thomas Cromwel's wiſdome in his heart; equally faſhioned for diſcourſe and buſineſs: in the laſt whereof he was active, but not troubleſome; in the firſt, merry, but innocent.

A jeſt if it hit right, may do more good than ſober counſels. Archee made king James ſenſible of the danger the prince was in, in Spain, by telling him that he came to change caps with him. *Why?* ſaid the king. *Becauſe thou haſt ſent the prince into* Spain, *from whence he is never like to return. But* (ſaid the king) *what wilt thou ſay when thou ſeeſt him come back again? Marry* (ſaith he) *I will take off the fool's cap which I now put upon thy head for ſending him thither, and put it on the king of* Spain's *for letting him return.*

A jeſt of Sir Thomas Wiat's began that reformation, which the ſerioufneſs of all Chriſtendome could not commence. King Henry was at a loſs concerning the divorce, which he no leſs paſ-

paſſionately deſired, than the Pope warily de- Hen. 8.
layed: *Lord*, ſaith he, *that a man cannot repent him of his ſin without the Pope's leave?* Sir Thomas hinted, Doctor Cranmer opened, and the univerſities of Europe made the way to reformation.

His majeſty was at another time diſpleaſed with Wolſey, and Sir Thomas ups with a ſtory of the *curs baiting the butcher's dog*, which contained the whole method of that great man's ruine.

The pope was incenſed, chriſtian princes were enraged, and the numerous clergy diſcontented, and king Henry afraid of a revolution: *Butter the rooks neſts*, (that is, ſell and beſtow the papal clergies habitation and land among the nobility and gentry) ſaid Sir *Thomas*, *and they will never trouble you.* One day he told his maſter he had found out a living of an hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to beſtow it on him: *Why?* ſaid the king, *we have no ſuch in* England. *Yes, Sir*, ſaid Sir Thomas, *the provoſtſhip of* Eaton, *where a man hath his diet, his lodging, his horſe-meat, his ſervant's wages, his riding-charge, and an* 100*l.* per annum *beſides.* What Lewis the eleventh ſaid of one kingdome, *i. e.* France, may be true of all. That they want one thing, *i. e.* Truth. Few kings have ſuch diſcreet courtiers as Cardinal Wolſey, to look into things deeply; fewer ſo faithful ſervants as Sir Thomas Wiat, to report things as they ſee them, honeſtly.

His jeſts were always confined to theſe rules:

1. He never played upon a man's unhappineſs or deformity; it being inhumane.

2. Not

Hen. 8. 2. Not on ſuperiors; for that is ſawcy and unditiful.

3. Nor on ſerious or holy matters: for that's irreligious; applying to this occaſion that of the Athenians, who would not ſuffer Pathus to play his comedies, where Euripides repeated his tragedies

4. He had much ſalt, but no gall; often jeſting but never jearing.

5. He obſerved times, perſons and circumſtances; knowing when to ſpeak, and knowing when to hold his peace.

6. His apt and handſome reparties were rather natural than affected; ſubtle and acute, prompt and eaſie, yet not careleſs; never rendring himſelf contemptible ro pleaſe others.

7. Not an inſipid changing of words was his gift, but a ſmart retort of matters, which every body was better pleaſed with than himſelf.

8. He always told a ſtory well; and was as good at a neat continued diſcourſe, as at a quick ſentence; contriving it in an handſome method, cloathing it with ſuitable expreſſions, without any parentheſis or impertinencies, and repreſenting perſons and actions ſo to the life, that you would think you ſaw what you but hear: A notable way that argued the man of a ready apprehenſion, an ingenious fine fancy, a tenacious memory, a graceful elocution, an exact judgment and diſcretion, and perfect acquaintance with things and circumſtances. His phraſe was clean and clear, the picture of his thoughts and language, (even in an argument) not harſh or ſevere, but gentle and obliging, never contradicting but with an *Under favour Sir*; always ſubjoyning to his adverſaries

diſ-

diſcourſe, what the Dutch do at all ambaſſadors propoſals, *It may be ſo.* Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Fineux.

SIR John Fineux was born at Swinkfield in the County of Kent, a place beſtowed on his anceſtors by a great lord in Kent, called T. Criol, about the reign of king Edward the ſecond. He followed the law twenty eight years before he was made a judge; in which office he continued twenty eight years, and was twenty eight years of age before he betook himſelf to his ſtudy: whence it neceſſarily follows, that he was fourſcore and four when he died. He was a great benefactor to St. Auguſtine's in Canterbury; the prior whereof William Mallaham thus highly commended him: (good deeds deſerve good works) Lloyd.

Vir prudentiſſimus, Genere inſignis, Juſtitia præclarus,, pietate refertus, Humanitate ſplendidus, & charitate fœcundus.

He died in 1526, and lies buried in Chriſt-Church in Canterbury, having had a fair habitation in this city, and another in Herne in this coun-

* A man of conſumate wiſdom, of an illuſtrious family, famous for his juſtice, renowned for his piety, conſpicuous in his humanity, and extenſive in his charity.

Hen. 8. county, where his motto ſtill remaineth in each window:

* *Miſericordias Domini cantabo in Æternum.*

Nile's original is hidden, but his ſtream is famous. This judge's anceſtors were not ſo obſcure, as he was illuſtrious. His device upon his ſerjeants ring was, *Suæ quiſq; fortunæ faber*; and his diſcourſe was always to this purpoſe, *That no man thrived but he that lived as if he were the firſt man in the world, and his father were not born before him.*

Forty years he ſaid he lived by his induſtry; twenty by his reputation, and ten by favour. King Henry the ſeventh knew not how well this gentleman could ſerve him, until he ſaw how effectually he did oppoſe him about the tenth peny raiſed for the war in Britain, which raiſed another in York; where though the rabble (that murthered Henry earl of Northumberland, who was to levy the tax) had not his countenance for their practice, yet had they his principal for their rule, which was this, *Before we pay any thing, let us ſee whether we have any thing we can call our own to pay.* So able, though reſerved a patriot, thought the wiſe king, would be an uſeful courtier, and he that could do ſo well at the bar, might do more at the bench. Cardinal Morton was againſt his advancement, as an incouragement to the factious: (whoſe hydra-heads grow the faſter by being taken off by preferment, and not by an ax) the king was for it, as the moſt probable way of weakening them, as who, when the

* I will ſing the mercies of the Lord for ever.

the moſt ſober and wiſe part of them draweth off, Hen. 8.
are but a rude multitude, and a rope of ſand. When a commoner, none ſo ſtiff for the ſubjects priviledg; when a judge, none ſo firm to the princes prerogative: two things, (however, they fatally claſhed of late) that are ſolid felicities together, and but empty notions aſunder: for what is prerogative but a great name, when not exerciſed over a free people? and what is priviledg but a fond imagination, when not ſecured under a powerful king, that may keep us from being ſlaves one to another by anarchy, while we ſtrive to be free from his tyranny? that people is beyond preſident free, and beyond compariſon happy, who reſtrain not their ſovereign's power to do them *harm* ſo far, as that he hath none left him to do them *good*. Careful he was of the law; for he was a judge: and as careful of his ſovereign's right; for he was a ſubject. No ominous claſhing between courts in his time; nor ſetting the king's *Conſcience* in *Chancery* againſt his will in the *King's Bench*. A man tells Ariſtides to make him party in his cauſe, that his adverſary had abuſed him: *I ſit not here* (ſaith that impartial judge) *to right my ſelf, but you.* When a notorious enemy of judge Fineux had cauſe depending before him, *It might have gone you, my Friend*, (ſaid he) *had you not been my Enemy*: his motto was; * *nemo prudens punit quia peccatum eſt ſed ne peccetur.*

Ten things, which are indeed ten of the moſt remarkable particulars of his life, raiſed him.

1. An indefatigable induſtry, 1. In his reading,

* No prudent man puniſhes another becauſe he has offended, but that he may not offend for the future.

Hen. 8. ing, leaving behind him 23 *Folio*'s of notes. 2. In his practice, bequeathing 3502 caſes he managed himſelf to his executor.

2. A freedome of converſe: as about his buſineſs, none more cloſe; ſo in company, none more open; having ſo compleat a command of himſelf, that he knew to a minute when to indulge, and to a minute too when to reſtrain himſelf. A gay and chearful humour, a ſpriteful converſation, and cleanly manners, are an exceeding uſeful accompliſhment for every one that intends not to wind himſelf into a ſolitary retirement, or be mewed in a cloyſter.

3. A rich and a well-contrived marriage, that at once brought him a large eſtate, and a larger intereſt: the ſame tie that allied him to his wive's family, engaged him to *many*.

4. A great acquaintance with noble families, with whoſe dependants he got in firſt, devoting an hour a day for their company; and at laſt with themſelves, laying aſide his vacation-leiſure for their ſervice. He was ſteward of 129 mannors at once, and of councel to 16 noble-men.

5. His hoſpitality and entertainments: none more cloſe than he abroad, none more noble at home; where many were tied to his table, more obliged by his company and diſcourſe.

6. His care and integrity in managing his repute in promoting, his reaſon and eloquence in pleading, and his ſucceſs in carrying his cauſes.

7. His eminence and activity in the two profitable parliaments of Henry the ſeventh, where he had the hearts and purſes of the people at his command, and the eye of his ſovereign upon his perſon. It was thought a reward adequate to the

the greateſt merit and adventure in the grecian wars, to have leave to play the prizes at *Olympus* before kings. It was judged the moſt ambition could aime at in king Henry the ſeventh's time, to ſhew a man's parts before his judicious and diſcerning majeſty; than whom none underſtood worth better, none valued it higher. Hen. 8.

8. His oppoſition to Epſon and Dudley's too ſevere proſecution of pœnal laws, while Henry the ſeventh was living; and his laying of it before him ſo faithfully, that he repented of it when he was a dying. *He is high a while, that ſerves a Prince's private intereſt; he is always ſo, that is careful of the publick good.*

9. His entire devotion to that ſacred thing called *Friendſhip*, that *Bliſs on this ſide Heaven*, made up of peace and love. None a worſe enemy, none a better friend. Choice he was in commencing, but conſtant in continuing friends: *Many acquaintance, but few Friends*, was his obſervation; ſaying, *He had been undone by his Acquaintance, had he not been raiſed by his Friends.*

10. His care of time. *To day I have not reigned*, ſaid the emperour when he had done no good: *To day I have not lived*, ſaid the judge when he had done nothing. So much he prayed morning, evening, and at noon, according to the way of thoſe times, as if he never ſtudied; ſo much he ſtudied, as if he never practiſed; ſo great his practice, as if he never converſed; and ſo free his converſe with others, as if he lived not at all to himſelf. Time (of which others are ſo prodigally expenſive) was the only thing he could be honeſtly *covetous* of: full

where-

Hen. 8. whereof he died, leaving this inſtruction to poſterity, *That we ſhould not complain we have little time; but that we ſpend much either in doing nothing, or doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpoſe.*

Obſervations on the Life of Dr. Edward Fox, *Secretary and Almoner to King* Henry *the* Eighth.

Lloyd. EDward Fox born in Durſly in Glouceſterſhire, brought up a ſcholar in Eaton, after fellow of king's colledg in Cambridge, where he died provoſt. He was almoner to king Henry the eighth, the firſt that brought doctor Cranmer to the knowledg of the king, as he brought the king to the knowledge of himſelf. Being afterwards biſhop of Hereford, he was a great inſtigator of the politick and prudential part of the reformation, and was not leſs able, but more active than Cranmer himſelf: yea, ſo famous was he, that Martin Bucer dedicated unto him his comment upon the goſpel: ſo painful, that he wrote many books, whereof that, * *de Differentia utriuſq; poteſtatis*, was the chief: ſo worthy he was, that the king employed him on ſeveral embaſſies into France and Germany. He died *May* 8, 1538.

In.

* Of the difference between both powers.

In his firſt years, none more wild; in his laſt none more ſtayed. *The untoward Youth makes the able Man.* He that hath mettle to be extravagant when he *cannot* govern himſelf, hath a ſpirit to be eminent when he *can*. His friends devotion to the church, and relation to the biſhop of Wincheſter, made him a ſcholar; his own inclination, a politician: an inclination that brake through all the ignoble reſtraints of pedantique ſtudies and coercions, (wherewith many a great ſoul in England (enjoying not the freedome of forein parts, but tied to ſuch employments, though never ſo unſuitable, as their friends put them to) are debaſed and loſt) to an eminency (more by obſervation and travel, than by reading and ſtudy) that made him the wonder of the univerſity, and the darling of the court. When he was called to the pulpit, or chair, he came off not ill; ſo prudential were his parts of divinity; when advanced to any office of truſt in the univerſity, he came off very well; ſo incomparable were his parts for government! Hen. 8.

His policy was obſerved equally in the ſubject, and in the contrivance of his ſermons and diſcourſe; where though all knew he read but little, yet all ſaw that (by a ſcheme and method his ſtrong head had drawn up of all books and diſcourſes) he commanded all learning: his *Explications* of the text were ſo genuine, ſo exact, as if he had ſpent his time in nothing elſe but criticks and commentators. His diviſions ſo analytical, as if he had ſeen nothing but logick: his enlargements ſo copious and genuine, as if he had ſeen nothing but fathers and ſchoolmen. The curious and pertinent mixture of moral ſen-

Hen. 8. tences, ſo various, as if he had been but a humaniſt: the drift and deſign of all, ſo cloſe, that it argued him but (what indeed he was) a pure pate-politician. His parts commended him to cardinal Wolſey as his ſupport: the cardinal brings him to his maſter as his ſecond, and he thruſts out Wolſey as his rival; but yet pretended to advance that ambitious man more highly, that he might fall more irrecoverably. He ſets him upon his deſignes of being *Pope* in Rome, and thoſe make him none in England. He caught the cardinal by his ſubmiſſion, as he would have done ſir Thomas More by his interrogations; at which he was ſo good, that he would run up any man either to a confeſſion or a *Præmunire*. Fox was his name, and cunning his nature. He ſaid, *His Father's money helped him to his Parſonage*, meaning his ſmall preferments; *and his Mother's wit to his Biſhoprick*, meaning his greater.

Diſcourſing one day when ambaſſador, of terms of peace, he ſaid, *Honourable ones laſt long, but the diſhonourable no longer than till kings have power to break them: the ſureſt way therefore*, ſaid he, *to Peace, is a conſtant preparedneſs for War*. Two things he would ſay muſt ſupport a government; gold and iron: gold, to reward its friends; and iron, to keep under its enemies. Themiſtocles after a battle fought with the Perſians, eſpying a prize lying on the ground, *Take up theſe things*, (ſaith he to his companion) *for thou art not* Themiſtocles. *Take the Emperour's Money*, ſaid Fox to his followers, (that were afraid to accept what he had refuſed) *for you are not all the King of* England's *Ambaſſadors*.

Often

Often was this ſaying in our biſhop's mouth, before ever it was in Philip the ſecond's, *Time and I will challenge any two in the world.* Hen. 8.

Portugal being revolted, the Conde d'Olivares came ſmiling to king Philip the fourth, ſaying, *Sir, I pray give me* las Albricius *to hanſel the good news: for now you are more abſolute King of* Portugal *than ever: for the people have forfeited all their priviledges by the Rebellion, and the Nobility their Eſtates, and now you may confirm your old Friends with their money, and make you new ones with their Eſtates.* When the clergy began to ruffle with the king, *I tell you News,* ſaid this Biſhop, *we are all run into a* Præmunire: *you ſhall have Money enough to make your own Courtiers, and places enough to advance your own Clergy.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Anthony St. Lieger.

WE may ſay of him, he was born in Kent, and bred in Chriſtendome: for when twelve years of age, he was ſent for his Grammar-learning with his tutor into France, for his carriage into Italy, for his philoſophy to Cambridg, for his law to Grays-Inne; and for that which compleated all, the government of himſelf, to court; where his debonnairneſs and freedome took with the king, as his ſolidity and wiſdome with the cardinal. His maſter-piece was his agency between king Henry the eighth and queen Anne, during the agitation of that Lloyd.

Hen. 8. great buſineſs the divorce between the ſaid king and his queen Katherine. His policy was ſeen in catching the cardinal in that fatal word, *The King may ruine me if he pleaſe!* but that ruined him. His ſervice was to be Cromwel's inſtrument in emoliſhing abbeys, as he was the king's. Cæſar was the firſt that came to undo the common-wealth, ſober; ſir Anthony St. Lieger was the firſt that ſaved this kingdome drunk: for in being abroad one night very late, and much diſtempered, he muſt needs fancy an extraordinary light in the cardinal's cloſet; with which fancy he ran to the king, and although much in drink, prevailed with him ſo far, that he ſends to the cardinal, and there finds that juncto that threatned his kingdome.

He eſteemed it the bane of a good judgment, to look upon things through the outſide of ſome cuſtomary formality; neglecting the ſteady conſideration of their inward nature; the firſt depending on the fancies of men, which are volatile; the other on the being of things, which is fixed: and he was rather for dreſſing his addreſſes in the ſmart way of a *jeſt*; than in the dull way of a *narrative*. * *Ridiculum acri Fortiùs et meliùs magnas plerumq; ſecat res.* The undigeſted fancies which pleaſe the common people for a while, during the diſtemper and green-ſickneſs, fit a troubled age, as maids infected with that malady preferr aſhes, or coles in a corner, before healthful food in their father's houſe; but when time hath cured their malady, and experience

* For ridicule ſhall frequently prevail,
And cut the knot when graver reaſon fail.
Francis's Horace, Stat. 10. V. 14.

rience opened their eyes, he would ſay that they ſhould abhor their former errors, and the miſleaders that taught them. Hen. 8.

He was the firſt *Vice-Roy*, becauſe Henry the eighth was the firſt king of *Ireland*. King Henry's affection would promote him any where, but his own reſolution and ſpirit commended him to *Ireland*.

He was a man whom all *Ireland* could not not rule; therefore (as the jeſt goes) he ſhould rule all England. Three times had the Iriſh rebels made their ſolemn ſubmiſſion to other deputies: the fourth time now they make it to him, throwing down their girdles, ſkeans, and caps. So great a man was the lieutenant, ſo great his maſter! no ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the government, but he thought of laws, thoſe ligaments of it: the moſt rational and equitable laws were thoſe of England, but too rational to be impoſed on the bruſtiſh Iriſh: therefore our knight conſidering (as he ſaith in the preface of his conſtitution) that they (poor ſouls) *could not reliſh thoſe exact Laws, to live or be ruled by them*, immediately enacted ſuch as agreed with their capacity, rather than ſuch were dictated by his ability; his wiſdome (as all mens muſt) doing what was moſt fit and convenient, rather than what was moſt exact; what they could bear, more than what he could do: as remembring he had to do with *Fæces Romuli*, rather than *Reſpublica Platonis*; a rude, rather than a reduced people. What he could, he ordained according to the incomparable rule of the Engliſh laws; what he could not, he eſtabliſhed according to his preſent judgment of the Iriſh capacity. He

Hen. 8. ſaw the kingdome could never be ſubject to his maſter's power, while the church was obedient to the pope's: therefore as he perſwaded the nobility to ſurrender their eſtates to his majeſty at London, ſo he compelled the clergy to make over theirs at Dublin: there remains but little of the firſt in his majeſties hands, ſo honourable was he in reſtoring it; and as little in his ſucceſſors, ſo religious and juſt were they, in reſigning it to the ſame uſe for ſubſtance, to which it was at firſt deſigned. But in vain it is to reform laws, unleſs we reform perſons too: therefore as he ſent *Orders* to reduce the Iriſh nobility in their ſeveral countries, ſo he ſent for themſelves (to the reſpective houſes built for them by his majeſty near Dublin) to be civilized in the court. *Cæſar came, ſaw, and overcame*; ſir Anthony *came, ſaw, and ſetled:* A man had thought there had not been ſo much corruption in the romiſh church, as to admit children to church-livings, (for which men are hardly ſufficient!) but that ſir Anthony St. Leiger was forced to make this law, *That no Children ſhould be admitted to Benefices.* We had not known this ſin, had not the law ſaid, *You ſhall not inveſt any under ſixteen years of age in Benefices.* The clergy he found there too many, and the nobility too few: he leſſened the number of the one to weaken the pope, and improved the other to ſtrengthen his maſter, of whom they held not only their eſtates, but their baronies too, as obliged to duty in point of honour as well as in point of intereſt. But in vain doth he civilize the preſent generation, and neglect the future: as therefore he provided cities for the parents, ſo he

he erected ſchools for the children, that the one might forget their barbariſm, and the other never know it. Three things he ſaid would ſettle a ſtate: 1. Good god-fathers and god-mothers performing their vows: 2. Good houſholders overlooking their families: 3. And good ſchool-maſters educating youth; this laſt, the moſt uſeful, though the moſt contemptible profeſſion. Hen. 8.

All war was miſchievous to learning (arts as well as laws, being ſuppreſſed by armes, the *Muſes Lawrel* is no ſecurity to them againſt *Mars* his *Thunder)* except Sir Anthonies, no man's library being embezled; no man's ſtudy interrupted; reſerving learning for the civilizing of that nation which his armes had conquered.

An *Athenian* being aſked what God was; ſaid, *He was neither Bow-man, nor Horſe-man, nor Pike-man, nor Foot-man, but one that knew how to command* [*all theſe.*] Sir Anthony St. Leiger was neither ſouldier nor ſcholar, nor ſtateſman, yet he underſtood the way how to diſpoſe of all theſe to his countries ſervice, and his maſter's honour; being all of them eminently, though none of them pedantickly, and formally in himſelf,

The *Athenians* (as *Anaximander* ſaid) had good laws, but uſed them ill; our deputy had bad laws, but governed by good.

It was thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour and unreaſonable ſeverity which ſome men carried there before him, was not the leaſt incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fuel in that place; where deſpair was added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted ex-

Hen. 8. oppreſſions: it is too eaſie to provoke a people too prone to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome principles of their religion, and their natural deſires of liberty; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and prevent after-rigours: wherefore he was inclined to that charitable connivence and *Chriſtian Indulgence*, which often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifieth, and puts the oppreſſed parties into ſuch combinations as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their perſecutors; who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration which attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer for religion or liberty.

To conclude this: four things Sir Anthony St. Leiger was eminent for:

1. That there was none more grave in council than he, in the morning: none more free at table, at noon: none more active in the afternoon: none more merry at night.

2. That his orders were made but ſlowly, ſo wary he was; but executed quickly, ſo reſolute he was too.

3. That he contrived all his deſigns ſo well beforehand, that in the courſe of affairs they were done to his hand; and he was the deputy that made no noiſe.

4. That as the ſouldier (finding his firſt admiſſion to Alexander to be difficult) danced about the court in an antique faſhion, until the ſtrangeneſs of the ſhew made the king himſelf ſpectator, and then throwing off his diſguiſe, he ſaid, *Sir, thus I firſt arrive at the notice of your Maieſty in the faſhion of a fool, but can do you ſer-*

ſervice in the place of a wiſe man, if you pleaſe to employ me: ſo this gentleman came to court a ſwaggerer, but went off a ſtateſman. All prudence is not lodged under a demure look and an auſtere carriage: there are thoſe that can be merry and wiſe; whoſe ſpirit is as *lively*, as their judgment *ſolid:* and its no better a character of a wiſe man, than it was a definition of a man which Plato made, and Diogenes, by ſhewing a deplumed cock, derided, that he is a *living Creature* that *hath two feet*, *i. e.* a grave, ſtaid carriage; without *feathers*, *i. e.* a nimble fancy. His onely fault was, that he was a particular inſtance of that general rule, * *Qui pauca conſiderat facile pronunciat.* Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler.

SIR Ralph Sadler was born at Hackney in Middleſex, where he was heir to a fair inheritance, and ſervant to the Lord Cromwel, and by him advanced into the ſervice of king Henry the VIII, who made him chief ſecretary of ſtate. He was one that had much knowledg, therefore much employed in all, but eſpecially in the intrigues of the Scots affairs: in the battle of Muſcleborow he ordered and brought up our ſcat- Lloyd.

* Who conſiders little, ſeldom heſitates in giving his opinion.

Hen. 8. ſcattered troops, inviting them to fight by his own example; and for his valour was made † knight banneret. Queen Elizabeth made him chancellour of the dutchy. During his laſt embaſſie in Scotland, his houſe at Standon in Hertfordſhire was built by his ſteward in his abſcence, far greater than himſelf deſired, ſo that he never joyed therein; and died ſoon after, *Anno* 1587, in the 80 year of his age.

King Henry underſtood two things: 1. A man: 2. A diſh of meat; and was ſeldom deceived in either: for a man, none more compleat than ſir Ralph, who was at once a moſt exquiſite writer, and a moſt valiant and experienced ſoldier; qualifications that ſeldom meet, (ſo great is the diſtance between the ſword and the pen, the coat of mail and the gown) yet divided this man and his time; his nights being devoted to contemplation, and his days to action. Little was his body, but great his ſoul; the more vigorous, the more contracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts, ſpeedy and reſolute his performances. It was he that could not endure the ſpending of that time in deſigning one action, which might perform two; or that delay in performing two, that might have deſigned twenty. A great eſtate he got honeſtly, and ſpent nobly; knowing *that Princes honour them moſt that have moſt; and the People them onely that employ moſt:* a prince hath more reaſon to fear money that is ſpent, than that which is hoorded; becauſe it is eaſier for ſubjects to oppoſe a prince by applauſe than

* There were two ſorts of theſe knights, the firſt made by way of encouragement, the ſecond by way of reward: Sir Ralph was of the ſecond ſort, and the laſt that ſurvived of that ſort.

than by armies. *Reward* (ſaid ſir Ralph when he was offered a ſum of money) *ſhould not empty the King's Coffers*; *neither ſhould Riches be the Pay of Worth, which are meerly the Wages of Labour*: he that gives it, embaſeth a man; he that takes it, vilifieth himſelf: who is ſo moſt rewarded, is leaſt. Since honour hath loſt the *Value* of a reward, men have loſt the *Merit* of virtue, and both become mercenary; men luſting rather after the wealth that *buyeth*, than after the qualities that *deſerve* it. Hen. 8.

Two things he obſerved broke treaties; *Jealouſie*, when princes are ſucceſsful; and *Fear* when they are unfortunate. Power that hath need of none, makes all confederacies, either when it is *felt*, or when it *feared*, or when it is *envied*.

Three things Cato repented of: 1. *That he went by water when he might go by land.* 2. *That he truſted a Woman with a ſecret.* 3. *That he loſt Time.* Two things ſir Ralph relented for: 1. *That he had communicated a ſecret to two.* 2. *That he had loſt any hour of the morning, between four a clock and ten.*

He learned in king Henry the eighth's time, as Cromwel's inſtrument, what he muſt adviſe, (in point of religion) in queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent counſellour: his maxime being this, *That Zeal was the Duty of a private Breaſt, and Moderation the Intereſt of a publick State.* The proteſtants ſir Ralph's conſcience would have in the commencement of queen Elizabeth, kept in hope; the papiſts his prudence would not have caſt into deſpair. It was a maxime at that time in another caſe, *That France ſhould not preſume, nor Spain be deſperate.* He

Hen. 8. He ſaw the intereſt of this ſtate altered ſix times, and died an honeſt man: the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful ſubject: religion changed, as to the publick conſtitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith.

A Spartan one day boaſted that his countrymen had been often buried in Athens; the Athenian replied, *But we are moſt of us buried at home.* So great was ſir Ralph's ſucceſs in the northern wars, than many a Scotch man found his grave in England; ſo exact his conduct and warineſs, that few Engliſh men had theirs in Scotland; the ſame ground giving them their coffin, that did their cradle; and their birth that did their death. Our knight's two incomparable qualities were diſcipline and intelligence; the laſt diſcovered him all the enemies advantages, and the firſt gave them none.

His two main deſigns were, 1. An *Intereſt* in his prince, by *ſervice.* 2. An alliance with the nobility by marriage: upon which two bottoms he raiſed himſelf to that pitch of honour and eſtate, that time could not *wear out*, nor any alterations *embezle*; he bequeathing to his worſhipful poſterity the bleſſing of heaven upon his integrity; the love of mankinde for his worth; and (as Mr. Fuller ſaith) a pardon granted him when he attended my lord Cromwel at Rome, for the ſins of his family for three immediate generations, (expiring in R. Sadler eſquire, lately dead.) His laſt negotiation was that in Scotland, during the troubles there about queen Mary: ſo ſearching and piercing he was, that no letter or adviſo paſſed, whereof he had not a co-

copy; ſo civil and obliging, that there was no party that had not a kindneſs for him; ſo grave and ſolid, that he was preſent at all counſels; ſo cloſe and induſtrious, that his hand though unſeen was in every motion of that ſtate: and ſo ſucceſsful, that he left the nobility ſo divided that they could not deſign any thing upon the king; and the king ſo weak, that he could not caſt off the queen; and all ſo tottering, that they muſt depend on queen Elizabeth. Hen. 8.

Three things he bequeathed ſuch as may have the honour to ſucceed him. 1. All letters that concerned him ſince of years, *filed:* 2. All occurrences, ſince he was capable of obſervation, *regiſtred.* 3. All expences, ſince he lived of himſelf, *booked.* Epaminondas was the firſt Græcian, and Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the laſt Engliſh-men.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Paget.

SIR William Paget was born in the city of London, of honeſt parents. He was ſo able and truſty a miniſter of ſtate, that he was privy counſellour to four ſucceſſive princes: he was ſecretary to king Henry the eighth; who employed him embaſſador to Charles the emperour and Francis king of France. King Edward the ſixth made him chancellour of the dutchy, comptroller of his houſhold, and created him baron of Beaude- Lloyd.

Hen. 8. Beaudefert. Queen Mary made him keeper of the privy-ſeal, Queen Elizabeth highly reſpected him, diſpenſing with his attendance at court, in favour to his great age. Duke Dudley in the days of king Edward, ignominiouſly took from him the garter of the order, ſaying, *He was not Originally qualified for the ſame:* but this was reſtored unto him by Queen Mary. He died very old, *Anno* 1563. and was buried in Lichfield. His education was better than his birth, his knowledg higher than his education: his parts above his knowledg, and his experience beyond his parts: a general learning furniſhed him for travel, and travel ſeaſoned that learning for employment. His maſter-piece was an inward obſervation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himſelf. His addreſs was with ſtate, yet inſinuating: his diſcourſe free, but weighed; his apprehenſion quick, but ſtaid: his ready and preſent mind keeping its pauſes of thoughts and expreſſions even with the *occaſion* and the *emergency:* neither was his carriage more ſtiff and uncompliant than his ſoul. Gundamore could not fit king James ſo well as ſir William did Charles the fifth, who in a rapture once cried, *He deſerved to BE a King, as well as to REPRESENT One:* and one day as he came to court, *Yonder is the Man I can deny nothing to.*

Apollonius coming to Veſpatian's gate betimes in the morning, and finding him up, ſaid, *Surely this Man will be Emperour, he is up ſo early.* This ſtateſman muſt needs be eminent, who was up the earlieſt of all the Engliſh agents in diſcovering affairs, and lateſt in following thoſe diſcoveries. Three ſorts of embaſſadors

the

the emperour Charles obſerved were ſent him from England; the firſt was Wolſey, whoſe great train promiſed much, as his great deſign did nothing: the ſecond was Moriſin, who promiſed and did much: the third Paget, who promiſed nothing, and did all. What ſcholars obſerved then of * three divines, that a ſtateſman hath ſet down of our three agents: the firſt was words without matter; the ſecond was matter without words; the third was words and matter. Quick and regular were his diſpatches, when *Secretary*, pleaſing all with his proceedings, even when he could not but diſpleaſe many with his deciſion. It was much none went away ever ſad from Auguſtus an emperour, it was more none was diſmiſſed ever in diſcontent from ſir William Paget, a ſecretary of ſtate. The king was not happier in his abilities to ſerve him, than he was in their dexterity who waited upon him: *Theſe are my eyes*, (ſaith the diſcreet man) *theſe are my right hands*. For his ſervice he would chuſe a man before a ſcholar, a *Traveller* before a *Home-bred*: *Parts* he preferred in his office, a *Preſence* in his chamber; *Parts* and *Preſence* in the cloſet. Hen. 8.

Beecher was king Henry the eighth his map of England, (ſo well ſkilled he was in our Engliſh cuſtoms, trade, improvements, ſituation, intereſt and inclination) Paget was his Table of Germany, France, and Rome, ſo exact an account could he give of their ſituation, havens, forts, paſſages, proviſion, policies, revenue and ſtrength: ſecured he was in king Henry's changeable times, by his foreign travels and employments. Eſcape he did king Edward's reformation

* Caroloſtadius. Melanchon, Luther.

Hen. 8. mation by his moderation and peaceableneſs: He complied with queen Mary's zeal, out of conſcience; and ſubmitted to queen Elizabeth's authority out of duty and allegiance: being one of thoſe moderate men that looked upon the proteſtants primitive foundations of * faith, duty, and devotion as ſafe: and on the papiſt's ſuperſtructures, as not damnable: Whoſe life was Grotius and Caſſander's wiſh, an accommodation to the chriſtian World. Privacy is the favourite's intereſt, and concealment his care: ſir William wiſhed for ſucceſs for his maſter's ſake, but diſſembled it for his own: He is the *man* that loſeth neither his privacy, nor his reputation. Quiet was his temper, though noble his reſolution: Troubleſome is a witty man on a ſtage, as a monkey in a cupboard of glaſs. Placid, ſweet, and compoſed is the prudent man, like an intelligence in the heavens, or a god in the world. Up he went, but by juſt degrees: that if down he muſt, he might do ſo with the ſame leaſure and ſafety.

When he had managed the ſecrets and negotiations of Henry the eighth, with dexterity and faithfulneſs; the lands of king Edward the ſixth, with ſkill and improvement; the purſes of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, with good huſbandry and care: when he had lived enough to his *Countries*, to his *Sovereigns*, to his *Friends*, and the *Publique Good*; he retired to live to *Himſelf* firſt, and then to his *GOD*.

Ob-

* The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Richard Moriſin.

SIR Richard Moriſin born in Eſſex (or in Oxfordſhire*) was brought up† at Eaton, Cambridge, and Inns of Court. He was ſo ſkilful in latine and greek, and in the common and civil law, that he was often employed embaſſador by king Henry the VIII, and Edward the VI, unto Charles the fifth emperour, and other princes of Germany; which he diſcharged with all honeſty and ability. After the death of king Edward the VI, he was forced to fly beyond the ſeas; and returning out of Italy, died at Straſburgh, on the 17. of March, 1556.

Three things made a compleat man in thoſe days: 1. A public ſchool, where their ſchool-fellows genius's inſtruct much more than their ſchool-maſters pains; where a man attains at once to *Learning*, *Prudence*, and a *Spirit*: 2. A comprehenſive inſight into tongues and ſciences; by the firſt whereof they unlocked *Men*, and by the ſecond *Things*: 3. Travel, where they ſaw what they read, and made that a ſolid apprehenſion and obſervation, which was before but a fluid notion and a floating imagination: our knight was happy in all three, but ſo compleat in the laſt, that he had the virtues and port of a German,

* Saith ſir Richard Baker.

† Per celebriora Anglorum Gymnaſia artes excoluit.

Hen. 8. a German, as if he had been a native of that place; and loathed the vices, as if he had never ſeen it: thereby he could get ſo far within that people, that he ſaw all their intrigues; and be yet ſo reſerved, that they could ſee nothing. The ableſt German divines guided his conſcience, and the greateſt ſtateſmen his negotiation. He kept under the emperour by the princes, the French by the emperour, and the pope by them all. So much ſervice did the good knight to king Henry the eighth, in his wife Katharine's caſe; and ſo much the whole kingdom, in that of religion; that he equally fled queen Mary's wrath, and her religious perſecutions. His ſtrong parts ſet off his comprehenſive knowledge; his reſolute ſpirit, his parts; and his preſence and mode *all*: king Henry always chuſing an embaſſador that might repreſent his perſon as well as his power: and ſir Richard had his *Hogh* in Germany, as well as Henry in England.

His knack was his *foreſight*; which made that an adviſo in England, which was hardly a known deſign there: ſaying uſually, *His maſter maintained not embaſſadours ſo much to write* Hiſtories *as* Prophecies. The Trojans ſent to condole with Cæſar for his ſon that was dead two years ago; he thanked them, and condoled with them for Hector that was ſlain as many hundred years. Our embaſſador in France adviſeth ſir Richard of a battel fought a week before, and he in anſwer makes a large diſcourſe of the battel of *Spurs* fought many years before; and adds, *I and you are not here to tell old ſtories.*

Two things, he ſaid, he was troubled with, *Envy* and *Malice*; and two remedies he had againſt

againſt them, *Patience* and *Reſolution.* Always Hen. 8.
he wheeled with the firſt mover, yet he had private motions of his own: ſingular, but modeſt: ſo faithful he was, that he would declare his opinion; yet ſo wary, that he would not ſtand in it againſt his prince; knowing, that if he did it out of prudence, he rendered the prince's ability ſuſpected; if out of his own ſagacity, it blemiſhed his integrity; both equal inconveniencies, to intimate the maſter unable, or the ſervant corrupt.

When others preſſed for an over-ſtrict reformation, this gentleman urged, That *Diſtempers in the Body and State are reduced by Phyſicians and Politicians not to what they ſhould be, but to what they can be*; freedom, moderation, and impartiality are the beſt tempers of reforming counſels and endeavours: what is acted ſingularly muſt offend more than it pleaſeth; a ſtudy to gratify ſome men, being a likely way to injure all: the novelty of exceſſive and immoderate undertakings giving not ſo much content to the vulgar of a preſent age, as the miſchiefs of them give offenſe to the generations of future times.

And Melancthon's diſcourſe to him was to this purpoſe: *That the Reformation of hearts ſhould go before that of Churches*; and *then ſhould try that on their own hearts which they deſign upon the Church: For Deformities within, will ſoon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformation to ſuch private deſigns as muſt needs hinder the publique good. It would be an eaſie matter for Favourites to reform King's Palaces* (ſaith Malvezzi) *if it were not a hard thing to reform their own houſes.*

Hen. 8. One aſked him, *Why his Embaſſie tended ſo much more to preſerve his Maſter's Dominions, than to augment them?* And he replyed what is fathered on Henry the fourth, *That getting is a Chance, but keeping is a Wit.*

After a long reſidence abroad, he thought of an habitation at home; which he no ſooner began at Caſhobery in Hertfordſhire, but king Edward going out of the world, the good knight was forced out of his houſe and the kingdom.

He was the firſt that ſaid, *Policy is not the learning of ſome Rules, but the Obſervation of Circumſtances, with a preſent minde in all junctures of affairs; which* (he would ſay) *was their happineſs only, that had good memories:* for when one ſaid he had *ſeen much, heard more, and read moſt: You were* (ſaid he) *a more compleat man, could you ſay, I remembered as much.* Secretary Walſingham would ſay, *My Lord, ſtay a little, and we ſhall have done the ſooner:* Secretary Cecil ſaid, *It ſhall never be ſaid of me, That I will defer till to morrow what I can do to day:* And ſir Richard Moriſin, *Give me this day, and take the next your ſelf.* Noble was his reſolution, when he ſaid, *He ſcorned to take penſions from an Emperour of Germany ſince an Emperour of Germany took pay of the King of England.*

His ſtature was ſomething tall, and procured him reverence; his temper reſerved, and commanding ſecurity to his perſon and his buſineſs. *He that knoweth to ſpeak well, knoweth alſo when he muſt hold his peace,* ſaid the old Græcian. *Think an hour before you ſpeak, and a day before you promiſe,* ſaid this Engliſh Roman. With

Ferdinand

Ferdinand the emperour he prevailed for the pope's aſſiſtance, and with Maximilian for his maſter's againſt the French. Hen. 8.

Never was his maſter Henry ſo high, as to ſet him above treating; nor his ſovereign Edward ſo low, as to make him afraid of war; although he looked upon the way of treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beaſts, to arguing like men; whoſe ſtrength ſhould be more in their underſtandings, than in their limbs. *I have* (ſaid a great prince) *greater confidence in my Reaſon than in my Sword; and am ſo reſolved to yield to the firſt, that I thought neither myſelf nor others ſhould uſe the ſecond, if once we rightly underſtood one another.* It's *humane* to uſe *Reaſon* rather than *Force*, and *Chriſtian* to *ſeek peace and enſue it.*

Chriſtian was his Temper, and religious his carriage; ſo charitable, that he relieved the confeſſors, as though he had been none himſelf; and ſo conſtant, that he continued his ſufferings, as if there were no other. Much good did his countenance do the exiles in the courts of foreign princes; and more his authority at the troubles of Frankford, where his motive to love, was the hatred of the enemy.

Obſervations on the Life of Doctor Nicholas Wotton.

Lloyd. NICHOLAS WOTTON, ſon to ſir Robert, born at Bockton-malherb in the county of Kent, (a place ſo named, from ſome noxious and malignant herbs growing therein) was bred in Oxon, doctor of the civil laws; and was the firſt dean of the two metropolitan churches of Canterbury and York. He was privy-counſellour to four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, *viz.*

King { Henry the VIII. / Edward the VI. } Queen { Mary. / Elizabeth. }

He was employed thirteen ſeveral times in embaſſies to forein princes.

Five times to Charles the fifth emperour.
Once to Philip his ſon, king of Spain.
Once to Francis the firſt, king of France.
Once to Mary queen of Hungary, governeſs of the Netherlands.
Twice to William Duke of Cleve.
Once to renew the peace between England, France and Scotland, anno 1540.
Again to the ſame purpoſe at Cambray, anno 1549.
Once ſent commiſſioner with others to Edenburgh in Scotland, 1560.

He

He refuſed the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, Hen. 8. proferred him inthe firſt of queen Elizabeth. He died January 26. in 1566. being about ſeventy years of age, and was buried in Canterbury.

Juſtinian reduced the law of nations to one body, and doctor Wotton comprehended them in one ſoul: publick was his ſpirit, and *ſuch* his thoughts: that profeſſion that was deſigned for the ſettlement of the world's commerce, was now confined to a biſhop's court, a churchwarden's oath, or a rich man's will; when this excellent perſon firſt enlarged it as far as the ſea, in the caſes of the admiralty; and as wide as the world, in the negotiations of embaſſie. Others were truſted with the intereſt of princes, he with that of nations. He that ſaw him, would think he could deny nothing, ſo modeſt ſcholar-like his looks! He that heard him would judge he would grant nothing, ſo undeniable his reaſon! ſo irrefragable his arguments! His ſpeech was as ready as his reſolution was preſent. His apprehenſion quick and clear: his method exact: his reading vaſt and indefatigable: his memory (ſtrong as to things, though not to words) tenacious: his elocution copious and flowing. What ſir Henry Wotton ſaid of ſir Philip Sidney, I may ſay of Nicholas Wotton, That *he was the very meaſure of congruity.* What that counſellour writ to the French king in a great ſheet (when he required his advice) that our doctor adviſed our princes in ſeveral diſcourſes, *viz. Modus*, a mean. *Sir*, (ſaid king *Henry* to him, now not forty years old) *I have ſent a Head by* Cromwel, *a Purſe by* Wolſey, *a Sword by* Brandon,

Hen. 8. don, *and I muſt now ſend the Law by you, to treat with my Enemies.*

Auguſtus lamented for Varus his death, becauſe he ſaid, *Now I have none in my Countrey to tell me the truth:* with Wotton went off that faithfulneſs that *Peaſants have, and Princes want:* none more reſolute abroad, none more bold and down-right at home. His plain dealing ſaved king Henry ſome treaſure, king Edward the north, queen Mary Calice for a while, and queen Elizabeth her faith and crown: a virtue that made him the overſeer of moſt foreign miniſters actions abroad, and one of the ſixteen executors of king Henry's will and teſtament at home. Gardiner was ſly and cloſe, but Wotton prudent and wiſe. In the treaty at Calice there are two things remarkable of our doctor, 1. That he firſt inſiſted on the peace with France, before that of Scotland. 2. He would ſay, *Rather give away* Calice, *than reſerve a Right in it fifteen years hence: for never was the intereſt of any Nation ſo conſtant, as to keep a promiſe half ſo many years.*

Indeed ſir William Cecil's reach went no further for a layman, than doctor Wotton for a churchman: therefore they two were pitched upon for the management of the intrigues and affairs of Scotland.

Many envied this happy man, but none could be without him, who was the oracle of both laws at councils; who could ſum up the merit of any cauſe, recollect the circumſtances of any affair; and ſhew tables of trade, commerce, ſituations, counſels, revenue, intereſt, *&c.* the readieſt and exacteſt of any in England.

But

But all theſe qualifications muſt die, and he with them: leaving it as his advice, Hen. 8.

Firſt, *To Church-men: To underſtand well the Common and Canon-Law, as well as the* Divine; *by the firſt whereof, they might underſtand their right; as by the ſecond, they informed themſelves and others of their duty.*

Secondly, *To Stateſmen: Travel and Hiſtory.*

Thirdly, *To Embaſſadors:* 1. *A good Purſe:* 2. *A noble and ſober Train:* 3. *Conſtant correſpondence and obſervation:* 4. *A happy medley of Debonairneſs and Complacency, Reſervedneſs and Gravity: with the firſt he had taken Princes, and with the laſt Stateſmen: the one diſcovers others, while the other conceals you.* 5. *Reſolution: I made often* (ſaid he, *as if I would fight, when they knew my calling allowed me onely to ſpeak:* 6. *Civility: That man* (ſaid the Prince of *Orange) is a great bargain, who is bought with a bare ſalutation.*

Fourthly, *To Privy-Counſellours:* that excellent caution, *Always to ſpeak laſt, and be Maſters of other ſtrength before they diſplayed their own.*

This was that rare man that was made for all buſineſs, ſo dexterous! this was he that was made for all times, ſo complying! this was he who lived doctor of both laws, and died doctor of both goſpels; the proteſtant, which had the ſtateſman's part of this man; and the popiſh, which had the chriſtian. Noah * had two faces becauſe he was a ſon of the old world before the flood, and a father of the new one after: Wotton ſure had four faiths, who was a favourite in king Henry's days, of the counſel in king Edward's, of

* Being called Bifrons.

Hen. 8. of the juncto in queen Mary's, and the * ſecond ſtateſman in queen Elizabeth's.

With theſe two things of this perſon, I ſhall conclude:

1. His refuſal of the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, which argued his extraordinary humility or warineſs.

His admiſſion of doctor Parker, as dean of Canterbury, to that ſee: which argueth the legality of his calling, there being no circumſtance with any likelihood omitted, by ſo exquiſite a civilian as doctor Wotton; or forgotten, by ſo great an antiquary as doctor Parker.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wriotheſly, *the firſt Earl of* Southampton.

Lloyd. THOMAS WRIOTHESLY knight of the garter, was born in Barbican, ſon to William Wriotheſly (deſcended from an heir general of the antient family of the Dunſterviles) king of arms. He was bred in the univerſity of Cambridge, as it appears by Mr. Aſcam's letter unto him, writing in the behalf of the univerſity, when he was lord chancellour.

Qua-

* Cecil was the firſt.

* *Quamobrem Academia cum omni literarum ra-* Hen. 8.
tione, ad te unum conversa (cui uni quam universis aliis se chariorem intelligit) partim tibi ut alumno suo, cum authoritate imperat : partim, ut patrono summo, demisse & humiliter supplicat, &c.

His university-learning prepared him for the law, and his indefatigable study of the law promoted him to the court; where, for his honour, he was created baron of Tichbourn, Jan. 1. 1543. and for his profit, the next year, *May* 3. lord chancellour; a place he discharged with more applause than any before him, and with as much integrity as any since him: *Force* (he said) *awed, but justice governed the world.*

It is given to that family to be generous and resolute: this incomparable person was under a cloud in king Edward's time, for being a rigidly-conscientious papist; and his great grandchild suffered in king Charles his time, for being a sincerely honest protestant: yet so reverenced was the first of this family by his adversaries, that he was made earl of Southampton; and so honoured was the other by his enemies, that they courted him to their party. Integrity hath a majesty in its full, and a glory in its lowest estate; that is, always feared, though not always loved.

No nobleman understood the roman religion better than the first earl of Southampton; and none the protestant better than the last, the right honourable and truly excellent Thomas earl of Southampton, and treasurer of England.

His

* Wherefore the University with the highest regard to Litterature, having cast her eyes on you only, (to whom alone she thinks herself dearer than to all others) commands you partly with an authority as her pupil, partly submissively and humbly intreats you as her best Patron.

Hen. 8. His court, he ſaid, gave law to the kingdom; his conſtant and exact rules, to the court; and his conſcience guided by the law of the kingdom, to his rules. Affable and acceptable he was, as More; quick and ready, as Wolſey; incorrupt as Egerton; apprehenſive and knowing, as Bacon. Twice were all cauſes depending in chancery diſpatched; in ſir Thomas Wriotheſly's time, 1538. and in ſir Thomas More's 1532. Truly did he judge *intra Cancellos*, deciding caſes with that uprightneſs, that he wiſhed a window to his actions, yea and his heart too. King Philip was not at leaſure to hear a poor woman's cauſe; *Then*, ſaid ſhe, *ceaſe to be King*. My lord over-hearing a ſervant putting off a petitioner, becauſe his maſter was not at leaſure, takes him up roundly, and replies, *You had as good ſay I am not at leaſure to be Lord Chancellour*. Two things he would not have his ſervants gain by, his livings and his decrees; the firſt, he ſaid, were God's, the ſecond the king's, (whom every man, he ſaid, ſold, that ſold juſtice:) *To honeſt men, your places*, ſaid he, *are enough; to Knaves too much*. Every week he had a ſchedule of his own accounts, and every month of his ſervants. Cato's greateſt treaſure was his account-book of Sicily; and my lord of Southampton's was his table of the chancellour's place. A great eſtate was conferred upon him, which he took not in his own name, to avoid the odium of ſacriledge; as great an inheritance he bought, but in others names, to eſcape the malice of envy.

He loved a biſhop, he ſaid, to ſatisfie his conſcience; a lawyer, to guide his judgment; a good family, to keep up his intereſt; and an univerſity, to preſerve his name. Full

Full of years and worth, he died 1550. at Lincoln-place, and was buried at St. Andrew's church in Holborn, where his poſterity have a dioceſe for their pariſh, and a court for their habitation. Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Fitz-James.

JOHN FITZ-JAMES knight, was born at Redlinch in Somerſetſhire, of right antient and worthy parentage, bred in the ſtudy of our municipal laws; wherein he proved ſo great a proficient, that by king Henry the eighth he was advanced to be chief juſtice of the king's bench. There needs no more to be ſaid of his merit, ſave that king Henry the eighth preferred him; who never uſed either dunce or drone in church or ſtate, but men of ability and activity. He ſat thirteen years in his place, demeaning himſelf ſo, that he lived and died in the king's favour. He ſat one of the aſſiſtants when ſir Thomas More was arraigned for refuſing the oath of ſupremacy, and was ſhrewdly put to it, to ſave his own conſcience, and not incur the king's diſpleaſure: for chancellour Audley, ſupreme judg in that place, (being loath that the whole burthen of More's condemnation ſhould lie on his ſhoulders alone) openly in the court aſked the advice of the lord chief juſtice Fitz-James, whether the indictment were ſufficient or no? to whom Lloyd.

Hen. 8. whom our judge warily returned, *My Lords all, by St.* Gillian, (which was ever his oath) *I muſt* * *needs confeſs, That if the Act of Parliament be not unlawful, then the indictment is not in my conſcience ſufficient.*

He died in the thirtieth year of king Henry the eighth; and although now there be none left at Redlinch of his name and family, they flouriſh ſtill at Lewſon in Dorſetſhire, deſcended from Alured Fitz-James brother to this judge, and to Richard biſhop of London.

The two main principles that guide humane Nature (ſaith judge Dodderidge) *are Conſcience and Law: By the former we are obliged in reference to another world, by the later in relation to this.* Prieſts and judges are the diſpenſers of theſe principles: no prince more unhappy in his prieſts than king Henry (whoſe unhappineſs it was, that all the juggle, prevarication, and impoſture of his time was in the pulpit,) none more happy in his judges, (to whoſe reaſon his people were more willing to ſubmit, than they were to hearken to his clergy's inſtruction) among whom none more renowned than ſir John Fitz-James, who was ſo fearful of the very ſhadow and appearance of corruption, that it coſt his chief clerk his place but for taking a tankard, after a ſignal cauſe of 1500l. a year, wherein he had been ſerviceable, though not as a bribe, but as a civility. Cæſar would have his wife without ſuſpicion of lewdneſs, and Fitz-James his ſervants without the appearance of corruption. What was law alwayes, was then a reſolution, *Neither to*

* Mr. More in the printed life of his grandfather ſir Thomas More. Page 334.

to deny, nor defer, nor ſell juſtice. When our judge came upon the bench, he knew no more then *Melchiſedech* or *Levi*, father or mother, neither friend nor intereſt: for when his couſin urged for a kindneſs, *Come to my Houſe* (ſaith the judge) *I will deny you nothing; come to the King's Court and I muſt do you juſtice:* and when the attorney-general beſpake his favour in a publick cauſe, *Trouble not your ſelf* (ſaid he) *I'le do the King right:* the king is caſt, the attorney expoſtulates; the judge ſatisfieth him *That he could not do his Majeſty Right, if he had not done juſtice.* Hen. 8.

His prudence ſo tempered his zeal for his ſovereign, that he over-ſtrained not the prerogative to bring in fears and jealouſies of tyranny on the one hand; and his integrity ſo balanced his popularity, that he never depreſſed it to broach bold opinions and attempts of liberty, on the other: complying with none of thoſe humours that an imaginary dread of oppreſſion, or a dangerous preſumption of freedom may tranſport to irregular exceſſes either for the one, or againſt the other.

As his majeſty was ſecured by his loyalty, ſo his ſubjects were by his patience, a virtue he carried with him to the bench, to attend each circumſtance of an evidence, each allegation of a plea, each plea in a cauſe; *hearing* what was *impertinent*, and *obſerving* what was *proper*. His uſual laying, (as ſergeant Mandevil reports it) being, *We muſt have two ſouls, as two ſieves, one for the Bran, the other for the flour; the one for the Groſs of a Diſcourſe, the other for the Quinteſſence.*

The ſame day that there was no cauſe to be tried

Hen. 8. tried in the Chancery in ſir Thomas More's time, there were but three in the king's bench, in ſir John Fitz-James his time; the reaſon whereof ſome *imagine* was cardinal Wolſey's extraordinary power that engroſſed all cauſes to his legantine court;) others *know* it was the judges integrity, who was too honeſt to *allow*, as that age was too plain to *contrive*, delays and obſtructions.

Lewis the eleventh of France would ſay, when he was adviſed to take revenge of thoſe that had affronted him before he came to the crown, *That it became not the King of* France *to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of* Orleans. A perſon that had notoriouſly wronged ſir John when a templer, in the caſe of his chamber, was to be tried before him for his whole eſtate when a judge; the adverſaries among other ſhifts made uſe of this old quarrel; whereupon ſir John ſaid, *It doth not become a Judge upon the Bench to revenge a wrong done in his Chamber.*

Two things upheld him in thoſe boyſterious times: 1. Silence, 2. Patience: both wary virtues that ſeldom endanger their owner, or diſpleaſe their ſuperiours. The people of thoſe times would live and die with the pope and council; and this judge, with the king and the parliament: the grand article of his faith was, *I believe as the Church believes*: and the great rule of his practice was, *I will live as the Law directs.*

He was a tried man, whoſe faith and honour was above his life and fortune; whoſe generoſity was above that firſt temptation of *Money*, as his ſpirit was above the ſecond of *Danger:* no fear here of delivering up priviledges to day, for fear

fear of the king; or prerogative to morrow, for fear of the ſubject: no, an unbiaſs'd temper between both, make up this honeſt man; who came on to preferment with great expectations, and went off with great applauſe: being one of the three men of whom it is ſaid, *That becauſe they never pleaſed their Maſter in doing any thing unworthy, they never diſpleaſed him in doing any thing that is juſt.* When baſe compliance goeth off with the contempt of thoſe it hath humoured, a noble reſolution comes off with the reverence of thoſe it hath diſcontented. Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Molineux.

SIR William Molineux junior, deſcendent from ſir William Molineux knight, of Sefton in Lancaſhire, flouriſhed under king Henry the eighth, being a man of great command in Lancaſhire; bringing the conſiderable ſtrength thereof to the ſeaſonable ſuccour of the duke of Norfolk, with whom he performed ſignal ſervice in Flodden-Field. The image of whoſe mind he was as well as the portrait of his body. Peculiar was our knight for nobly forgiving his enemies if reconcilable; and refuſing ignobly to be revenged of them, though obſtinate: for honeſtly would he betray the villanies of them, that diſhoneſtly offered to betray them Lloyd

Hen. 8. to him; as Fabricius delivered up to Pyrrhus, though a ſworn enemy, the phyſician that would have poiſoned him; Lewis the 11th, diſcovered to the duke of Burgundy, though his mortal foe, the conſpiracy that would have ruined him; and queen Elizabeth of England, with king Philip of Spain, gave Henry the great of France, (when friends with neither of them) notice of two plots upon his perſon, that would have ruined him.

It is confeſſed on all ſides that the Scots loſt the day, by not keeping their ranks, but not agreed on the cauſe thereof. Buchanan (who commonly makes the too much courage of his country-men, the cauſe of their being conquered) imputes it to their indiſcrete purſuing of the Engliſh routed at the firſt: others ſay, they did not break their ranks, but were broken, unable to endure the Lancaſhire archers, and ſo forced to ſunder themſelves. In this battle the Scottiſh king and chiefeſt gentry were ſlain, the Engliſh loſing ſcarce any; the Scots ſcarce any but of prime note. The king afterward wrote his gratulatory letter to ſir William Molineux, in form following.

Truſty and Well-Beloved, We greet you well. And underſtand as well by the Report of Our Right Truſty Couſin and Counſellour, the Duke of Norfolk, as otherwiſe, what acceptable ſervice you amongſt Others lately did Us by your valiant Towardneſs in the aſſiſting of Our ſaid Couſin againſt Our Enemy, late King of Scots; and how courgiouſly you, as a very hearty loving Servant acquited your ſelf for the overthrow of the ſaid late King, and diſtreſſing of his Malice and Power, to

Our

Our great Honour, and the advancing of your no little Fame and Praiſe; for which We have good cauſe to favour and thank you, and ſo We full heartily do; and aſſured may you be, that We ſhall in ſuch effectual wiſe remember your ſaid ſervice in any your reaſonable purſuits, as you ſhall have cauſe to think the ſame right well employed to Our comfort and weal hereafter. Given under Our Signet, at Our Caſtle at Windſor, the ſeven and twentieth of November. Hen. 8.

It appears by our author, that the like letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were ſent unto ſir Edward Stanley, and ſome other men of principal note in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire.

There is more in the education than the birth (though that be noble too) of this gentleman: much generous blood ſparkled in his veins, more arts and ſciences thronged in his ſoul: a learned prince brought up a learned gentry, the moſt hopeful of whom think themſelves as much obliged to imitate his virtues, as the moſt degenerate were inclined to practiſe his vices. Four excellent artiſts were at once entertained in his father's houſe:

1. A compleat grammarian, and linguiſt, Parker.

2. An exact mathematician and hiſtorian, Calvius.

3. A ſkilful muſitian, Palleviceno.

4. An active dancing-maſter and ſouldier.

The latine tongue then wearing out its barbariſm, he ſpake and writ elegantly: Cicero's works he kenned particularly: Plutarch's lives and morals (that book which, as Gaza ſaid, would furniſh the world, if learning were loſt)

Hen. 8. he epitomized punctually: the active and practical part of geometry, he ſtudied intently. And, as the complaiſance of his nature and ſweetneſs of his temper, he added to theſe ſeverer ſtudies, thoſe more airy of muſick, poetry, and heraldry.

* *Si ad naturam eximiam eruditio acceſſerit tum demum ſingulare quoddam exiſtere ſolet.* This noble nature, advanced by this heroick education, muſt needs do wonders, as it did: firſt, in the univerſity: where his company was choice, his carriage even and ſtaid, his time exactly obſerved and prudently ſpent; ſecondly, abroad: where his converſe was wary, his conduct noble and plauſible, his obſervations and exerciſes manlike and knowing: thirdly at court: where his preſence was graceful, his diſcourſe ſolid, digeſted, diſtinct, and clear; much improved by reading, more by travelling, moſt by conference with thoſe that ſpeak well: fourthly, in the country: where his hoſpitallity was renowned, his equity and prudence beloved, and his intereſt large and commanding. None pleaſed the king at court more, ſuch his learning to ſatisfie him, ſuch his debonairneſs to delight him; (for as cardinal Wolſey, ſo ſir William Molineux got in with king Henry the eighth by a diſcourſe out of *Aquinas* in the morning, and a dance at night.) none ſerved him better in the country; ſuch his obligations upon tenants and neighbours, that he had ſix thouſand men at command: ſuch his prudence and juſtice, that there were more differences ended in his parlour, than in Weſtminſter-Hall: ſuch his care and watchfulneſs,

* If a polite education has been added to a refined genius, then ſomething extraordinary generally comes forth.

fulneſs, that no treaſon ſtirred, but his agents diſ- Hen. 8.
covered, and the militia was at an hour's warning to ſuppreſs it: the idea of the Engliſh gentleman! in favour at court! in repute in the country! at once loved and feared!

Four things he took ſpecial care of: 1. That the poor might have their ſtated alms. 2. That the prieſts might enjoy their known dues. And 3. That his tenant might be ſo well uſed, that he might thrive; and but ſo well, that he ſhould not be idle. 4. That every body ſhould be employed: ſaying, *He had rather they ſhould be buſie, though doing nothing to the purpoſe, at the charge of his Purſe; than that they ſhould be idle, doing nothing at all, at the charge of their own pretious time.* In a word, he lived in all capacities a publick good, and died a common loſs: leaving in his family that beſt legacy, a good example; and his country that laſting monument, a good name, for two things that he hated; 1. Depopulating incloſures: 2. Unworthy inhancements of rents: for he died with this advice to his ſon, *Let the Underwoods grow.* The tenants are the ſupports of a family, and the commonalty are the ſtrength of the kingdom. • *Improve thriftily, but force not violently either your Bounds or Rents above your fore-Fathers.* His popularity never failed of being called to the parliament, nor his activity of being uſeful there: none underſtood better how to move, to preſs, to quit, to divert, to eſcape, to watch and mould a buſineſs: none knew better the confederacy of contrivers, ſpeakers, ſticklers, dividers, moderators, and the *I* and *No*-men, their method and correſpondence: none more patient and induſtrious, when a lower

Hen. 8. faction was firmer in conjunction, and a few that were ſtiff, tired out many more moderate. He had no eaſineſs to be impoſed upon, no weakneſs to be deluded, no low intereſt to be corrupted by fond hopes or fair promiſes of preferment, to wave the very pinch of a diſpute; no pleaſure or vanity to be debauched, while the vigilant faction ſteals a vote worth a kingdom; no ſloath nor neglect, to be ſurprized; no vanity of diſcourſe, to loſe his maſter, no partiallity to be biaſſed, no diſcontent to ſatisfie, no paſſion to miſguide: as one that *hated* nothing, but what was diſhoneſt; *feared* nothing, but what was ignoble; and *loved* nothing, but was juſt and honourable: having a care of his virtue, as lying in his power, but not of fortune, as lying in the power of ſuperiours, from whom he could only by deſerving command a favour; he being of Plato's opinion, *that a man's mind is the Chariot; Reaſon the Coach-man: Affections the Horſes; deſire of Honour the Whips; both exciting to goe forward, and awing to be exact: Honour always keeping up curiouſly the honoured perſon in an heighth of action, that keeps an even pace with admiration; evenneſs and conſtancy being the Crown of Virtue.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-James.

HIS judgement in parliament brought him to the *notice*, and his activity and proweſſe in the wars recommended him to the ſervice of king Henry. The biſhops pleaded for the catholique religion, the people for a reformation; ſir William offered his opinion for a mean between both; *That ſince it was unreaſonable to tie up Mankind in blind obedience one toward another, and impoſſible to run through all Difficulties and Controverſies our own ſelves, (ſo much Time and Money muſt be ſpent in ſuch an Undertaking, ſo many Languages learned, ſo many Authors read, ſo many Ages looked into, ſo many Faiths examined, ſo many Expoſitors conferred, ſo many Contradictions reconciled, ſo many Countries travelled, for any conſiderable ſatisfaction) to believe all, is inconſiſtent; to neglect all, is impious: There remains no other way for the Laicks, but to recollect and ſtick to the moſt Common, Authentick and Univerſal Truths, tending to Virtue and Godlineſs; depart from what is doubtful and controverted, and tending only to ſtrife and perplexity; and by theſe to live our ſelves, and examine all other pretenſions whatever; there being no part of Religion but what hath Virtue and Grace as its Foundation and Deſign: A way that would keep men from Atheiſm, under a ſenſe of Religion: from* Lloyd

end-

Hen. 8. *endleſs controverſies, in the ſolid practice of Virtue; from fatal Diviſions, in peace and concord. Let us (ſaid he) eſtabliſh and fix theſe Catholique and Univerſal Notions, and they will ſettle our Souls, and not hinder us to believe whatſoever is faithfully taught by the Church, or ſubmit to what is authoritatively enjoyned by the State. So that whether the Eaſtern, Weſtern, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of Rocheſter, or Luther, &c. be in the Right, we Laicks may ſo build upon thoſe Catholicks and infalliable Guards of Religion, as whatſoever ſuperſtructures of Faith be raiſed, theſe Foundations may ſupport them.*

This diſcourſe opened a door to the reformation intended, and ſhut out all thoſe prejudices it might lie under from the ſtate, and religion of fore-fathers, *&c.*

Hereupon ſir William is invited to court; and when the air and ſoftneſs of that place ſuited not his more ſevere and ſtirring temper, he is promoted to authority firſt by land, and then by ſea; where none was more watchful in the wars between Us and France, none ſo active in thoſe between Us and Scotland: with thirty-ſix ſhips he gave law to the narrow ſeas, as Poynz with forty more did to the main: there was not a ſerviceable man belonging to him, but he knew by name; it being his rule, *That none fought well, but thoſe that did it for a fortune.*

While he watched the coaſt of France, he diſcovered twelve French ſhips, in which the archbiſhop of Glaſco, and divers others of quality were, (whom the duke of Albany had ſent before

fore him into Scotland;) theſe he chaſed to a ſhipwrack: and leaving a ſquadron to ſhut up the French havens, went along the French coaſts, landing in divers places, waſting the country, till at laſt he came to Treport, a town ſtrongly ſituated, and garriſoned with three thouſand men, which yet he took; and finding it not his intereſt to dwell there, pillaged and burned it, going off with ſucceſs and glory: inſomuch that king Henry joined him with the biſhop of Bath in the commiſſion for the treaty at Paris; where ſuch articles were agreed on touching a marriage with the princeſs Mary, and the joynt embaſſie to the emperour, as ſpake ſir William as well ſeen in the ſtate of Europe, as any particular perſon in the ſeven kingdoms of it: whereof one was, *That they ſhould unite by all the ties of alliance, friendſhip and Intereſt, againſt the growing power of* Auſtria, *ſo far as that there ſhould be no league, correſpondence, war or peace, wherein they both ſhould not be concerned.*

Hen. 8.

From his forein negotiations he returns to his home-ſervices: and the next view we have of him is in the parliament, bringing up with ſir Anthony Fitz-Herbert, a bill againſt the cardinal, who wiſhed then, as Philip duke of Burgundy did, that with Alexander he had died young.

1. *For encroaching upon his ſovereign's power by his legantine authority.*

2. *For treating between the pope and the king of France, without his maſter's privity and conſent; as likewiſe between himſelf and the duke of Ferrara.*

3. *For joyning himſelf with his majeſty; ſaying,* The King and I

4. *For*

Hen. 8. 4. *For ſwearing his houſhould ſervants only to himſelf.*

5. *For ſpeaking with the king, when infected with the Pox, pretending it was only an impoſthume.*

6. *For giving by prevention divers Benefices away, as legate.*

7. *For receiving embaſſadors before they came to the king: as alſo for opening all the king's letters, and taking an account of all eſpials, concealing what he pleaſed.*

8. *For carrying things with an high hand in the privy council.*

9. *For tranſporting grain, and ſending advertiſements of the king's affairs abroad.*

10. *For taxing or alienating religious men's lands, to the great decay of hoſpitality and charity.*

11. *For controuling the nobility, and ehgroſſing all cauſes in his juriſdiction.*

12. *For taking all ordinary juriſdiction from them by prevention, and ſeizing their eſtates, as he did all other eccleſiaſtical perſons upon their death.*

13. *For perſwading the pope by indirect practices to ſuppreſs monaſteries.*

14. *For paſſing judgments without hearing, and reverſing ſuch judgments as had duly paſſed.*

15. *For ſuſpending the pope's pardons until he was fee'd.*

16. *For turning out his old tenants.*

17. *For his general encroachments upon the rights of religious houſes, and the encroachments of courts of juſtice.*

18. *For ſaying to the pope, in order to the obtaining of a legantine power, to the indelible ſhame of the church of England, That the clergy of England were given in* reprobum ſenſum.

19. *For*

19. *For embezling the goods of the moſt wealthy prelates that died in his time.* Hen. 8.

20. *For bringing off his ſervants from the law againſt extortion, at York.*

21. *For dividing the nobility.*

22. *For keeping as great ſtate at court, and exerciſing as great authority in the country for purveyance, &c. as the king.*

23. *For forbidding petitions and purveyances within his juriſdictions.*

24. *For engroſſing all copy-holds within his power, to his lemans, procurers,* &c.

25. *For altering the market-prices ſet under his majeſties hand and ſeal.*

26. *For impreſſing his* Hat *under the king's* Crown. *in the coyn at York.*

27. *For hindering the due courſe intended by viſiting the Univerſities to ſuppreſs hereſies.*

28. *For diſpoſing of men's eſtates and proprieties his pleaſure.*

This bill was aggravated moſt effectually, by three moſt pinching conſiderations: *viz.* That the king's honour was by him diminiſhed: that the ſtate of the realm was by him decayed and diſcontented: that the courſe of juſtice was by him obſtructed. A great undertaking, this! to bring down this lofty prelate! (whom his maſter created the king's fellow, and his own pride made his ſuperiour) but as wiſe as great, if we regard the five politick circumſtances:

1. The queen was engaged.
2. The people were oppreſſed.
3. The king was needy and covetous.
4. The nobility were kept under.

5. The

Hen. 8. 5. The clergy were harraſſed: and all by this proud man: and at that juncture is he convened before the parliament, and charged home by this excellent knight, who never left him till he was humbled, as juſtice Fitz-Herbert did not his ſervants, until they were reformed.

Neither did the pope eſcape him abroad, better than the cardinal at home: for his next action we find is a declaration drawn by him, Jo. Fitz-Warren, Tho. Audley, and others, to pope Clement the ſeventh, expoſtulating his delays, and conjuring his diſpatch in the buſineſs of the king's marriage.

Very ſerviceable he was to his maſter in time of peace, more in time of war, where he ſaid as the great general did, that he never ſaw fear, but upon the back of his enemies: and particularly at the inſurrection 1536. where he cut off the rebel's paſſes, diſtreſſed their arms, and when they refuſed a treaty but upon condition that Aſhe their leader was pledged, adviſed an engagement with them out of hand; ſaying, *No Engliſh-man ſhould be undervalued ſo far as to be an Hoſtage for a villain:* and adding further (ſo good was his intelligence) *That if they were not defected ſpeedily, the Scots and Germans would diſcover that they had but too much hand in this plot.*

For which his ſervices, his maſter raiſed him to the admiralſhip of England, and the earldom of Southampton; in which quality he was one of the three noblemen that managed the buſineſs of divorce between the king and Anne of Cleve, with that applauſe that made him lord privy-ſeal, Nov. 14, 1541. and the great examinant

of

of the particulars in the lady Katherin Howard's case, a matter of great truſt and ſecrecy; which he performed with a ſearching and deep judgment, beyond that ladies fear and the king's expectation; as appears from the exact account given under ſir Tho. Audley and his own hands, touching that matter. Hen. 8.

Having provided for the king's ſafety at home, he is one of four that treat for his intereſt abroad, I mean upon the borders of Scotland; where our excellent perſon's dexterity was obſerved, in gaining that time by various propoſals for peace, that ſerved his maſter to provide againſt the war; in the beginning whereof, the brave lord died at York: ſo much eſteemed, that for the honour of his memory his ſtandard was born in the foreward, all this expedition. A perſon in whom prudence was even with activity, reſolution with prudence; ſucceſs with reſolution, moderation with ſucceſs; honour and favour with all.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Darcy.

SIR Thomas Darcy was one of king Henry the eighth's firſt counſellours, ſo advanced (as moſt of his fellows) not for affection, but intereſt; owing his promotion to his own ſufficiency, rather than his maſter's favour. His counſel was weighty at home, his aſſiſtance neceſſary abroad, where in behalf of pope Julius Lloyd.

Hen. 8. lius the ſecond and the emperour, he did more with 1500 archers in a year for the balancing of Europe, than had been done before in an age.

No employment ſo dangerous at that time as that of the warden of the weſt marches of Scotland, none ſo noble for that employment as my lord, who was equally knowing and ſtout, and at once moſt *feared*, and moſt *loved*.

The earl of Shrewſbury made ſome inroads into Scotland, the lord Darcy ſeconds him: but being ſurprized by the duke of Albany's preparations, he had as much wit to make peace, as he had reſolution to carry on the war. None knew better when to yield, none better when to conquer; ſo great a command had he over himſelf! ſo great over the enemy, that he brought them to requeſt his wiſh, and offer what was his intereſt! with the duke of Surry's aſſiſtance by land, and Fitz-William's his by ſea, he reduced the nation to a good intelligence with us that year, and a peace the next; a peace (as he obſerved) that would be no longer kept, than we had ſword in our hands, and an army on their borders: *For* conſcience *guided other parts of the World*, (he ſaid) *and* fear Scotland: whence he invaded them duely once a year.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard.

SIR Edward's brother in worth, as well as blood: his father's intereſt ſet him up, and his own induſtry kept him ſo; all the children were brought up for *Sea-Services*, this gentleman for *Sea-Commands*. He immediately ſucceeds his younger brother in the admiralty; and wiſely conſidering the advantage of the French gallies in a calm, the number of their ſhips, the danger of their winds for us, if they blew ſouth-weſt, deſired of the king ſo many ſouldiers as might man the ſhips, and make good the landing, wherewith he ſcoured the ſeas, and ſecured the king's paſſage, with ſo much honour, that he was able to aſſiſt his father at court, as much as Wolſey did Fox; his gallantry being no leſs pleaſing to his maſter, than the other young favourite's compliance; and both theſe young men had no leſs art to govern their prince, than he had to govern his kingdom: theſe arts, which all other favourites uſe, being hopes and fears, which as doors and paſſages to the heart, are ſo guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themſelves in, and keep all others out: the two ends upon which the thread of government depends. His father is made duke of Norfolk, and earl of Surry; both are an eye-ſore to the cardinal, whoſe fortune had no ſuperior in the king's Lloyd.

Hen. 8. king's favour, whoſe ambition would endure no equal. The old man's years and cares are fitted with a retirement in the country; the young man's ambition and activity, with a government in Ireland, which he reduced as ſpeedily to obedience (notwithſtanding Deſmond's rebellion) as he had to civility, had it not been for Wolſey's underminings, who endured no publick ſervice but what he did himſelf; and would chuſe rather that the kingdom ſhould periſh by a traytor, than be ſaved by a *Nobleman.* Beloved he was by that country (where he left a peace and a parliament, *Anno* 1521.) ſo that they were loth to part with him: wanted he was by the king, to ſcour the narrow ſeas for the French war; ſo that he muſt have him. The king hath made him formerly *His* admiral, the emperour upon his return from England makes him his; and with both their commiſſions he lands in Normandy, waſtes the adjacent countries, (ſparing only religious houſes) takes and ſacks Morlais in Bretaign (which entered under the ſmoak) burns their ſhips, commands the ſea, and ſets the emperour ſafe in Spain; adviſing his majeſty from thence to make a general muſter of his ſubjects for his own ſatisfaction and others terrour, *March* 27, 1522. The troubles in Scotland required a noble head and a ſtout heart, two endowments that no man was more maſter of than the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk (upon his beloved father's deceaſe) whoſe prudence toyled the Scots to deliver up their king, as his proweſs frighted them to yield up themſelves, as they did in that moſt exquiſite treaty, where the earl of Worceſter beat the *Buſh*, ſaith my noble author, and our duke catched the *Hare*.

A

A while after he is earl marſhal, and embaſſa- Hen. 8.
dor to king Francis about thoſe two grand points:
1. *That the French King ſhould ſet up a Patriarch:*
2. *That he ſhould ſtop up all the payments made to Rome, with fair promiſes of that ſupply of men and money he then moſt wanted.*

When the pope ſtuck to queen Katherine, three things he adviſed the king to:

1. To teach the people that a general council was above the pope, and proclaim that he did appeal to it.

2. To fix upon every church-door the dowager's appeal to Rome, and the late ſtatute againſt it.

3. To confederate with the kings of Hungary and Poland, the eſtates of the empire and the Hanſe towns. Three things that would ſettle his people at home, and ſtrengthen his intereſt abroad: to which he added the ſtatute of ſuc-[illegible]on, the oath of ſupremacy, ſir William [illegible]ard's embaſſy to the Scotch king, the ſup-[illegible]ſion of religious houſes, the war in Ireland [illegible]der ſir William Skeffington, and a thorough [illegible]arch into the bottom of the rebellion in the [illegible]orth, by a connivance and delay.

But all his ſervices could not quit him from ſuſpicion, nor his popularity from envy: the lord Darcy accuſeth him to excuſe himſelf, and Cromwel ſeconds him to ſecure himſelf: and (as unhappineſſes follow one another in the ſame order as one wave floweth after another) his nieces miſcarriages threatned his fall; but that the honeſt man (as appears from a letter the whole council ſent to ſir William Paget then reſident in France) was the firſt that declared againſt her,

Hen. 8. and put the king upon the moſt ſafe and honourable ways of trying her; which ſatisfied his majeſty ſo far, that he employed him as chief in the treaty upon the borders, and general in the war when that treaty failed; ſir Anthony Brown, upon his recommendation, being added to the commiſſioners in Scotland, and to the privy-council in England, as maſter of the king's horſe, as ſir John Gages was comptroller of his houſe.

Several perſons came to London for a reward of their Scotch ſervices; this duke gave the king a wary and grave counſel, to beſtow upon them as much land as they could win in Scotland.

But greatneſs is fatal: the king is old and teſty, the government diſordered and irregular, the duke too ſtifly honeſt to comply, the council envy him; and in this juncture his wife's paſſion diſcovereth his minions, and they, to ſave themſelves, his privacies and ſecrets: his ſon [illegible] man of a deep underſtanding, of a ſharp [illegible] and great valour, bred up with Henry Fitz-[illegible] at Windſor, and afterwards at Paris, was [illegible] headed before his face. His favourite Mr. [illegible] Holland depoſed, that he ſaid many looked for the protectorſhip (when the king, who lived and moved by engines and art, rather than by nature, ſhould die) but he would carry it: that the king did not love him becauſe he was loved by his country; but he would follow his father's leſſon, which was, *That the leſs others ſet by him, the more he would ſet by himſelf:* that he had a daughter for the king as well as others, &c. His eſtate was great, his power greater; the king's occaſions had ſwallowed up the one, and his enemies

mies ambition the other, notwithſtanding his humble ſubmiſſion before the council, and his many ſervices to the king, had not his majeſties death ſaved his life. Hen. 8.

As the deepeſt hate is that which ſprings from violent love, ſo the greateſt diſcourteſies oft ariſe from the largeſt favours. It is indiſcreet to oppreſs any, dangerous a prince with kindneſſes; which being fetters, are treaſon on that perſon: but ſuſpicion! ah ſad ſuſpicion! the companion of the weak or guilty! the cloud of the mind! the forfeiture of friends! the check of buſineſs! thou that diſpoſeſt kings to tyranny! huſbands to jealouſie! wiſe men to irreſolution and melancholy! truſt, and you need never ſuſpect: but policy and friendſhip are incompatible, I ſee; where Norfolk begs that life from the block at laſt, which he had ventured two and thirty times for his ſovereign. Who knows the cares that go to bed with ſtateſmen! enemies abroad, treacheries at home, emulations of neighbours, diſſatisfaction of friends; jealouſies of moſt, fear of all: unwelcome inventions to palliate unjuſt courſes: fears of miſcarriage and diſgrace; with projects of honour and plauſibility, with reſtleſs thought how to diſcover, prevent, conceal, accommodate the adverſarie's, or his own affairs. Let us live, and love, and ſay, *God help poor Kings!*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Stanley.

Lloyd. THE Stanley's ſervice to Henry the ſeventh, was a ſufficient pledge of their faithfulneſs to Henry the eighth. Honour floated in ſir Edward's blood, and valour danced in his ſpirits: his ſtirring childhood brought him to Henry the eighth's company, and his active manhood to his ſervice. The camp was his ſchool, and his learning was a pike and ſword; therefore his maſter's greeting to him was when they met, *Hob, my Souldier!* in many places did he ſhew himſelf, but no where more than at Flodden, where his archers fetched down the Scots from their faſtneſs, and relieved the Engliſh from their diſtreſs; the earl of Surrey beginning the conqueſt, and ſir Edward crowning it: for which the king immediately ſet him high in his favour, and not long after, as high in the world, being made baron Stanley, and lord Mounteagle. Twice did he and ſir John Wallop land with only 800 men in the heart of France, and four times did he and ſir Thomas Lovell ſave Callis; the firſt time by intelligence; the ſecond by a ſtratagem; the third by valour and reſolution; and the fourth, by hardſhip, patience, and induſtry.

In the dangerous inſurrection by Aſhe and captain Cobler, his zeal for the ſtates welfare was above ſcruples, and his army was with him before his

his commiſſion: for which dangerous piece of loyalty, he aſked pardon, and received thanks. Two things he did towards the diſcomfiture of the rebels, (whoſe ſkill in arms exceeded his followers, as much as his policy did their leaders) firſt, he cut off their proviſions, and then ſecondly, ſewed ſedition among them, whilſt his majeſty gained time by pretended treaties to be even with them, drawing off the moſt eminent of the factious every day, and confounding the reſt. He lived with this ſtrange opinion, that the ſoul of man was like the winding up of a watch, and when the ſtring was run out, the man died, and there the ſoul determined, but he died not ſo. Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bolen.

THE city enriched this family, their parts raiſed them; his activity was as taking with king Henry, as his daughter's beauty. He was the picklock of princes: upon his word only would the king model his deſigns, and upon his word alter them. He diſcovered Ferdinand's underhand treaty with Lewis, and his deſign upon Navarre; and writ to his maſter to preſs the ambiguous man to a concluſion, and to ſend over ſome treaſure: *for*, ſaid he, *the whole World is now to be ſold*; adding the neceſſity of a peace, or at leaſt a truce with Scotland. Sir Thomas Lloyd.

Hen. 8. Bolen was againſt the king's going to France in perſon before he had ſome more iſſue, or * Edward de la Pool were diſpatched out of the way. Sir Thomas Howard was for it, it being dangerous to entruſt ſo noble an army, or ſo renowned an action with any ſubject, eſpecially when Maximilian the emperour offered to ſerve under his majeſty as lieutenant, and the pope to attend him as chaplain. There is nothing more remarkable of ſir Thomas Bolen, than, 1. The education of his children; his eldeſt ſon being bred at the emperour's court, his youngeſt with the pope at Rome, and his daughter with queen Mary in France. 2. His negotiation with the lord St. Johns in Germany, where he over-reached the emperour no leſs than the earl of Worceſter did the French king: ſo cunningly binding him, that he underſtood nothing of our affairs; and yet ſo narrowly ſifting him, that we knew all his intrigues. Viſible was all the world to our ſtate then, and inviſible our ſtate to all the world.

From Germany he is ſent with Richard Sampſon, D. H. to Spain, to ſet Charles as forward againſt the French, as he had done Maximilian. His ſervice advanced him to the honour of a barony and a † viſcountſhip, and the profit of the treaſureſhip of the houſhold; and his ſucceſs upon the malecontent duke of Bourbon by ſir Jo. Ruſſel, who treated with him in diſguiſe, ſet him as high in the king's favour, as his wife was; a virtuous lady, that was the king's friend, but not his miſtreſs; his *delight*, and not his *ſin*.

In

* One of the houſe of York.

† He is made Viſcount Rochford.

In Spain ſo earneſtly did our ſir Thomas me- Hen. 8.
diate for the delivering up of the French hoſta-
ges, that (as Sandoval ſaith) *Charles proteſted to him, that for his ſake only he would relinquiſh his Demand for the reſtitution of* Burgundy, *in which the difficulty of the peace conſiſted:* adding further, *That for the ſame reaſon he would accept as well for* Francis *his two ſons ranſome, as his charge,* what was freely offered, *viz.* 2000000 crowns: and he with ſir Robert Poyntz make up that treaty, the great arbitrators of *Europe!* at whoſe diſpoſal kings ſet their crowns, and kingdoms their peace; in whoſe breaſt ſate the fate of *Chriſtendome,* by their voices to ſtand or fall.

As faithful is he to the king at home, though to his own prejudice, as he is ſerviceable abroad, to his honour: for when the people talked oddly out of envy to his daughter, (now viſibly in favour) and pity to queen Katherine, ſir Thomas adviſeth his majeſty to forbid his daughter the court, and declare that thoſe proceedings were more to ſatisfie his conſcience, and ſecure ſucceſſion, than to gratifie any other more private reſpect: ſo far to his daughter's diſcontent, that ſhe would not come near the king until her father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither; who by repreſenting the common danger to them both, obtained at length (ſaith my lord Herbert, though not without much difficulty, the conſent of his unwilling daughter to return: where yet ſhe kept that diſtance, that the king might eaſily perceive how ſenſible ſhe was of her late diſmiſſion. Sir Thomas would have married her to the lord Percy, but the king and cardinal forbad it; deterring old Northumberland

Hen. 8. berland from it, and he his ſon. Many love-letters between king Henry and Anne Bolen are ſent to Rome: one letter between the cardinal and his confederates is fetched thence by ſir Thomas his dexterity; who adviſed ſir Francis Bryan, then reſident, to get in with the pope's cloſet-keepers Courtezan, and ſhew her the cardinal's hand, by which ſhe might find out and copy his expreſſes; as ſhe did to his ruine, and our king's great ſatisfaction. To which letter is annexed a declaration under his hand, and the lords Darcy, Mountjoy, Dorſet, and Norfolk, of forty-four articles againſt the great cardinal. His hand being now in, he muſt *through:* he adviſeth the king to conſult the univerſities of *Chriſtendome:* he goeth in perſon when made earl of Wiltſhire to the pope, and contrives that a declaration of the whole kingdome in parliament ſhould follow him: which ſo amuſed his holineſs with our earl's ſtratagems, that he was aſleep as it were until the ſtate of England was quite altered. To this he adds the peace with France, and the interview with king Francis, where his daughter is married privately, and her brother made viſcount Rochford. Convening a parliament to his mind at Black-Fryers, and advancing an archbiſhop to his purpoſe in Canterbury, he is ſecure of the church and of the kingdom; whereof the firſt hallowed the action, and the ſecond confirmed it. I ſay nothing of the bird, the egge is bad, and left by the hard hearted oſtridge poſterity in the ſand: thinking it more ingenuous to confeſs that the ſcandal of it is not to be anſwered, than to buſtle and keep a coil, and twiſt new error with old, falling to *Scylla* for fear of *Charybdis*, for

for fear of the abſurdities that dropped from that Hen. 8.
firſt one as thick as Sampſon's enemies heaps upon heaps.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Howard.

HE ſet out with his father's reputation, and came home with his own: *Britain* feels his arm to this day, and the French his ſucceſs. Deſperate were his undertakings, yet happy; raſh his engagements, yet honourable; it being his maxime, *That never did Sea-man good, that was not reſolute to a degree of madneſs.* The French fleet he purſueth to the haven under their own forts cloſely. Sir Edward conſidering the order wherein the French lay, thought fit to advertiſe his king and maſter thereof; adviſing him withal, (ſaith my author) to come in perſon, and have the glory of this action: but the king's council taking this meſſage into conſideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear, (as was thought) but ſtratagem and cunning that made the French thus attend their advantage, thought the king was not invited ſo much to the honour, as to the danger of this action; therefore they write ſharply to him again, commanding him to do his duty: whereof that brave perſon was ſo ſenſible, that he landed 1500 men in the ſight of 10000, and waſted the country, until being too confident, he fell a while after into his Lloyd.

Hen. 8. his enemies hands; the lord Ferrers, ſir Thomas Cheyney, ſir Richard Cornwal, and ſir John Wallip looking on, but not able to relieve him. Four reaſons he would uſually give againſt a war with the low-countries: 1. The decay of trade: 2. The diminution of cuſtoms: 3. The ſtrengthening of France: 4. The loſs of their induſtry and inventions, and ſo of the improvement of our commodities and manufactures. In the youth of this ſtate, as of all others, arms did flouriſh; in the middle-gate of it, learning; and in the declining, (as covetouſneſs and thrift attend old age) mechanick arts and merchandize: and this gentleman was made for each part, being not ſo much a ſouldier as a ſcholar, nor ſo much a ſcholar as a merchant. But a private ſpirit is moſt unfortunate; and (as my oracle aſſures me) *whereas men of that temper all their time ſacrifice to themſelves, they become in the end themſelves ſacrifices to fortune, whoſe wings they thought by their wiſdome to have pinioned.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard *Earl of* Surrey.

Lloyd. SIR Thomas Howard was this king's prime counſellour; a brave and an underſtanding man: who was obliged to be faithful to his maſter, becauſe an enemy to Wincheſter: (emulation among favourites is the ſecurity of princes.)

Four

Four motives he offered for a marriage with the princeſs Katherine: Hen. 8.

1. A league with Spain, againſt the growing power of our dangerous neighbour France.

2. The ſaving of much time and expence in marriage, by her being here.

3. The conſideration of that vaſt ſum of money that muſt be exported if ſhe goeth away. And

4. The great obligation laid on the pope by that diſpenſation, which would ſecure to him the king and his poſterity, not otherwiſe legitimate but by his authority.

His eſtate was much waſted in the ſervice of Henry the ſeventh, and as much improved by the treaſures of Henry the eighth, which amounted in the beginning of his reign to 1800000*l. i. e.* at the rate of money now adays, ſix millions and an half; which he diſpenſed ſo thriftily, that old Wincheſter could not trapan him; and yet ſo nobly, that young Henry was pleaſed with him. Sir William Compton ſet up the king's * rich life-guards, (under Bourchier earl of Eſſex as captain, and the valiant ſir Jo. Peachy who kept Calais in ſo good order with 300 men, as lieutenant) but this wary earl put them down again. When news was brought that Empſon and Dudley were ſlain, it was the earl's opinion that his majeſty had done more like a good king than a good maſter. When the narrow ſeas (whereof the kings of England have been very tender) were infeſted, this old treaſurer and earl-marſhal cleared it by his two ſons Ed-

* They were 50, with an archer, a demilance and a conſtillier piece; they and their horſes being veſted in cloath of gol

Hen. 8. Edward and Thomas, ſaying, *The King* of England *ſhould not be impriſoned in his Kingdome, while either he had an Eſtate to ſet up a Ship, or a ſon to command it.* In three weeks did he ſettle the North againſt the invaſions of James the fourth, now inclining to the French; and in a fortnight did he raiſe 40000*l.* to pay the army, now ready to mutiny: inſomuch, that when king James denounced war againſt king Henry, he ſaid, he had an earl in the North that would ſecure his kingdom; as he did with much reſolution, prudence, and ſucceſs at Flodden-Field, where he ſaw a king at his feet, and a whole kingdome at his mercy; where he was forced to fight, ſo barren the country, *(una ſalus victis nullam ſperare ſalutem)* where yet he pitched upon the moſt advantagious place and time; ſo great his command of himſelf, and ſo noble his conduct!

He ſends Rouge Croix to the Scotch king, to tell him, *That though he ſaw no Enemy at Sea, he hoped to find ſome upon the Land: That he came to juſtifie* Bretons *death, which it was as much below a King to revenge, as it was below a privy-counſellour to have deſerved: That he* expected *as little mercy as he* intended; *his ſword being commiſſioned to ſpare none but the King, whom no hand muſt touch.* To this defiance, he added a caution to the herauld, *That he ſhould bring no meſſenger from the Enemy nearer than two miles of the Camp.* So well were the Scots encamped, that when neither arguments nor ſtratagems would draw them out, the earl cuts off their proviſion there; and under the covert of a ſmoak got the earl under the hill, and under another of mift got they atop: the Scots played the *mein*, until Stanley and Darcy

Darcy did *more* than *men:* and the old man's re- Hen. 8.
ſerve concluded the doubtful day in ſo compleat a conqueſt, as brought 12000 arms, 16 cannons, 4000 priſoners, and a peace to the Engliſh borders. Upon which, the general retires to thoſe more neceſſary exerciſes of juſtice and government, until his maſter's return: when all his ſervices advanced him (at that time when it was a maxime of ſtate, *That Honours are the Luſtre and Security of Crowns*) to his father's dukedom of Norfolk, as his ſon's merits promoted him to his of the earldom of Surrey.

The king's coffers decay, and his occaſions grow: the old man retires to his country-houſe, having enjoyed his honour *Thirty* years, to enjoy himſelf *Three:* one of his laſt undertakings being the appeaſing of the London tumults, May 1, 1517, when he left this behind him, *A potent and wanton City, is a ſhrewd Enemy.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Compton.

HE was chief gentleman of the bedchamber Lloyd.
to Henry the eighth, and next to the chief in the affections of the ſame prince: if his ſpirit had been as even with his favour, as his favour was with his merits, he had been the moſt uſeful as well as the moſt eminent man in England: but he was too narrow for his fortune, and more attentive to his private advantage, than to the publick affairs: this ſaying is at once his hiſtory and

Monu-

Hen. 8. monument; *Kings muſt hear all, but believe only one: for none can give a ſolid advice but he that knoweth all, and he muſt not be every body.* As to the affairs of Europe, ſir William was clearly for the league againſt France, as an opportunity to regain our right in France, and ſtrengthen our intereſt in the church and the empire. My lord Darcy was againſt it; becauſe France was too hard for us before it ſwallowed up our * confederates, and much more ſince: adviſing ſome more noble attempts for our juſt empire upon the Indies. The young king is for a war with France, as an engagement upon the pope to advance England above all other kingdoms; and declares himſelf as much ſir William's in opinion as he was in his affection.

This gentleman had a deep inſight in any thing he undertook, becauſe he had a great patience to conſider, an advantageous ſlowneſs to recollect, a ſtrong memory to graſp, and an indifferent temper to judge: but when a matter exceeded his capacity, or out-reached his ſphere and orb, he had either a peremptory and great word to urge it, or a ſleight to wave it, or a ſubtlety to perplex it, (that his amazed fellow-commiſſioners ſhould as little underſtand it) or a countenance and geſture to overbear it. However, in general he was cloſe and reſerved, (he had need go ſoftly that cannot well ſee) leaving himſelf without obſervation or hold to be taken what he was. He ſtudied the king's nature, rather than his buſineſs; and humoured rather than adviſed him. The referring of all to a man, becomes a prince, whoſe ſelf is not himſelf, but the community, (their

* Of Bretany and Normandy.

(their good and evil being (as my lord Bacon writes) at the peril of a publick fortune, but not a ſubject, whoſe private advantage may be a publick ruine; not a favourite, whoſe benefit by that ſelfiſhneſs may be narrow as his own fortune, but the hurt done by it is as large as his maſter's, who muſt needs be undone, when his ſervants ſtudy to *pleaſe Him*, and to *profit themſelves*. Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Marney.

SIR Henry Marney was one of young Henry's firſt council, who loved his perſon well, and his proſperity better; and impartially adviſed him for his good, and modeſtly conteſted with him againſt his harm; that council that was hand as well as head, and could perform as well as adviſe: this was the ſearching judgement that diſcovered Buonviſo the Luccheſs his letters to the French king, betraying our deſigns as ſoon as thought on, and inſtructing him for prevention, before our king was ready for the attempt. Induſtry and thrift over-rules princes: this perſonage had no time to tranſcribe intelligence, but what he borrowed from his ſleep; nor money to buy it, but what he ſaved out of his allowance: yet he underſtood more than any one prince of Europe, and was more conſulted than any one ſtateſman. His judgment was much valued, his integrity more; ever offering what was ſolid-

Hen. 8. ſolidly ſafe, rather than what was ſuperficially plauſible: as one who was a ſtranger to the wiſdome of the latter age, (as ſir Francis Bacon deſcribes it) which is rather *fine Deliveries* and ſhifts from inconveniencies, than ſolid and grounded courſes for advantage. His foreſight was large, and his ſpirit larger: he conſidered all circumſtances that occurred to him; judged what he conſidered, and ſpoke what he judged with that reſolution as to his opinion, that argued he underſtood the matter in queſtion; with that modeſty as to his ſuperiours, that ſhewed he underſtood himſelf. He would ſay that he that could not with the *Cameleon* change colour with the aire he lived in, muſt with the *Cameleon* live only upon aire.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Poynings.

Lloyd. SIR Edward Poynings was the third of eighteen counſellours bequeathed by Henry the VII, to his ſon, with his kingdom; a privy council wherein there was not one lawyer! and a cabal that never condeſcended for advice to any below themſelves; or for performance of any of their degrees to any beſides themſelves; being a compleat body of active and knowing men in in their own orb. Who more prudent than Surrey? who more reſolved than Poynings? whoſe vigilancy made him maſter of the Cinque Ports, as

as his valour advanced him general of the Low-Country forces, whom he led on to ſeveral ſervices with ſuch ſucceſs, and brought off (with the loſs of not above an hundred men) with honour from the lady Margaret, and applauſe from the whole country. Hen. 8.

No leſs happy was he in his government of Tournay, until the council at home (now grown thin by the receſſion of Warham, Fox, and Norfolk) had more need of him than garriſons abroad: vainly is that ſpirit penned within a city, that was equal to a kingdom. It is the unhappineſs of other monarchies, that they have not men anſwerable to their employments; it was the unhappineſs of this, that it had not employment ſuitable to its men.

He liv'd and died in arms: Bulloign ſaw him firſt a ſouldier, and Bulloign ſaw him laſt the beſt camp-maſter in all Chriſtendom: always obſerving three things:

1. The *Situation* of his camp to *ſecure* his army.

2. The *Accommodation* of it, to *ſupply* it.

3. His retreat, to draw off: the avenues, to be guarded with ſouldiers, and ſtrengthened with re-doubts; which he made triangular, that more men might engage the enemy at once: during erection whereof, the army was palliſado'd in the front with ſtakes headed with iron on both ends five foot long, and ſtuck ſlope-wiſe into the ground, to keep off both horſe and foot: the foot-ſentinels were without the redoubts, the horſe-guards beyond them, at diſtance enough to deſcry the enemy, and not too much, to retire to their works. A ſerious and plodding brow

Hen. 8. beſpoke this noble knight's deep prudence, and a ſmart look his reſolved valour; who was a man vaſtly different in his publick capacity, from what he was in his private employment:

Quemquam poſſe putas mores narrare futuros?
Dic mihi, ſi fias tu leo, qualis eris.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Charles Somerſet.

Lloyd. SIR Charles Somerſet, afterward lord Herbert of Gower, &c. endeared himſelf to king H. as much for his maxime, *That Reaſon of State was Reaſon of Law*; as for his advice, *That the King ſhould never ſtick at Law, in caſe of Publique Good; and yet that all his acts for publique Good ſhould come as near as poſſible to the Law.* So popular was this gentleman, that he received all the petitions againſt Empſon and Dudley; yet ſo loyal, that he adviſed his majeſty neither to ſpare thoſe leeches, leaſt any ſhould preſume to alienate his peoples affections from him by extortions for the future; nor yet too ſeverely to puniſh them, leaſt any ſhould be diſcouraged to ſerve the crown for the preſent: (for indeed Empſom and Dudley ſuffered for that which others were advanced for; the parliament puniſhed them for putting their laws in execution, and the king deſerted them for improving his exchequer to a treaſury.)

Two

Two things this lord adviſed his maſter to, be- Hen. 8.
fore he put the crown upon his head.

1. To redreſs the peoples grievances under his father.

2. To marry not in France, where he had a title to a kingdom ſo near us, that by reaſon of mutual jealouſies we may have peace with it ſometimes, but friendſhips never.

In the houſhold he was lord Chamberlain, ſo diſcreet his carriage! in the French expedition, *Anno* 1513, he was general, ſo noble his conduct. His aſſiſtants were the earl of Northumberland, Shrewſbury, Kent and Wiltſhire; his followers, the lord Audley, De la Ware, * Carew and Carſon, &c.

Therovene he beſieged in good order, and with Wolſey's advice, who had lived long in that town; underſtands all the avenues of it; and with ſir Oughtred, ſir Henry Guildford, ſir Edward Poynings, ſir Charles Brandon, and ſir Alexander Baynam's aſſiſtance, ſprung ſeveral mines, repulſed the French relief and the city-aſſailants, ſo that the town was yielded Auguſt 23, 1513, and upon Maximilian's intreaty razed as he did Tournay, September 22. Herbert was for razing this place, as farther from us than Therovene; but Wolſey for the biſhoprick's ſake, is for the gariſoning of it, as a trophy. The king recollecting his former occaſions, Feb. 3, 1514, thought he could not do a more juſt or a more prudent act, than recompenſe his noble ſervants (but the cheapeſt way, I mean that of

* Maſter of the ordinance who was killed the firſt night before Therovene.

Hen. 8. honour) as he did old Somerſet with the earldome of Worceſter.

With this honour at home, is joyned another abroad, viz. That of embaſſie to Maximilian, where he reached that *Germans* depths, and clearly demonſtrated that thoſe fond and impoſſible offers of the empire, were but artifices rather than kindneſſes: to drain the king's treaſure, rather than enlarge his dominions: adviſing him to raiſe a citadel at Tournay, and an army in Normandy. he finiſhed the eſpouſals between the princeſs Mary and the Dolphin; and delivered Tournay, by the ſame token that he would not let the Mareſchal de Caſtilion to enter with banner diſplayed, but rolled up, it being (as he ſaid, who with lord Herbert was at the taking of it) voluntarily yielded up, and not gotten by conqueſt: and then beſtowed himſelf with ſir Richard Wingfield for the great interview between king Francis and king Henry; an interview I know not whether more ſolemn or more dangerous: kings cannot meet without great ſtate, and they ſeldom part without much envy; who never are further aſunder than when they *meet*. His moſt eminent action here, was the device of that motto, * *Cui adhæreo, præeſt*; a motto that ſpeaks the honour of England, and the intereſt of Europe. The arbitrators commanding both the parties, ſubmitting to their arbitration for two cities in Italy, contending about their bounds, chooſe the people of Rome to be their arbitrators; they gave their city a ſmall pittance, and reſerved all the reſt to themſelves.

* *He to whom I adhere is ſuperior.*

themſelves; * *Quod in medio eſt Populo Romano adjudicetur.* Hen. 8.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas Grey *Marqueſs of* Dorſet.

THE king's wars called for ſouldiers, and his peace for ſtateſmen; and here is a perſon † *ex utroque magnus*: when the whole deſign for the invaſion of France was ripened, this marqueſs is made general, and attended by the lord Thomas Howard, the lords Brook, Willoughby, and Ferrers, with divers knights, gentlemen, and others to the number of ten thouſand men, armed not only with bows, but halberts: he diſtreſſeth Navar to a ſubmiſſion to his maſter; forceth his way to Bayon, and with ſir John Styles aſſiſtance, kept up the Engliſh honour above that of France and the empire, keeping cloſe to his commiſſion, and not ſtirring a foot without expreſs orders from Ireland: although his preſence countenanced ſome actions his hands could not perform. Lloyd.

Three things he was very careful of.

1. Of good pay, leſt his ſouldiers mutined.
2. Of good diet and quarters, leſt they failed.
3. Of order, diſcipline, and temperance, eſpecially in ſtrange climates, leſt they ſhould be diſtempered.

* What is ſituated between, let it be adjudged to the Roman people.

† On either ſide great.

Hen. 8. Two things he was unſucceſsful for:

1. The narrowneſs of his commiſſion.

2. The reach of Ferdinand, who deſigned the conqueſt of Navar, rather than of France.

—Yet what reputation he loſt by land, ſir Edward Howard gained by ſea, commanding the French ſhips to their harbours: over-running Britain, with ſir Thomas Knevet the maſter of the horſe, ſir John Carew, and ſir Henry Guildford's aſſiſtance he gave law in the Mediterranean, until he awed the neighbour-princes to terms as honourable for his maſter, as diſhonourable for themſelves: now we find him valiant in earneſt at ſea, anon ſo in jeſt at court (at the ſolemn juſts proclaimed by Francis de Valois, duke of Angouleſm in France) his nature being not ſtinted, but equally free to debonair and ſerious enterpriſes of *Pleaſure* or of *Honour*; where ſix Germans were at his mercy, and four Frenchmen at his feet. His ſpirit equalled thoſe active times, and his temper his ſpirit.

Three things ſet him up

1. His large expences for ſhew at court.
2. His ſtrength and manhood at juſts.
3. His ſkill and experience in the field.

He was the beſt for embattelling an army in thoſe times: obſerving

1. The number, ſtrength, and experience of his camp.

2. The nature and extent of the place, whether champain or incloſed, hilly or plain, wooddy or mooriſh, ſtraight or large; that he might accordingly diſpoſe of diſtances and ſtands.

3. Incloſures he aimed at for his foot, and champain for his horſe, together with the advantages of wind and ſun.

4. He

4. He impales the flank and rear with muſ- Hen. 8.
kets, pikes, and carriages.

5. His diviſions were ſundry, but well ordered to relieve one another: his main battels three: the largeſt in the front, the next in the middle, with ſome ſpaces between for the firſt to rally it ſelf, or embody with the ſecond; the third and ſtrongeſt in the rear, ſo divided that the two firſt battles may retreat into it, and draw up in it's rear to watch the enemies diſorder in purſuit.

It's obſerved of the Turks, that they never put their Janizaries (their beſt ſouldiers) in the front, but make uſe of them for reſerves, by which they have been very ſucceſsful: this noble marqueſs went not by rote or fore-conceived rules, but by preſent prudence, obſerving time, place, and perſons; neither would he lie open to an enemies deſign by a conſtant method, but alter his ſtratagems, and contradict all the rules of diſcipline, to diſorder the enemy, and diſappoint his expectation.

He hath ſometimes compounded the wings of his battle of ableſt men, and the battle it ſelf of the meaneſt; ordering them, if overpowred, to make their retreat to the rear of the other diviſions, through the ſpaces appointed for that end; which the enemy percieving, followeth (not ſmelling the drift,) not without diſorder, (as in all purſuits) between the two ſtrong wings, who cruſh them in pieces: his field-pieces after once or twice diſcharging, were drawn within the diviſions of the main battle, to fire the enemy at his next approaches if the front were diſordered: and to avoid the execution of his enemies, his files were thin, and his dragoons ready to ſeize theirs,

Hen. 8. theirs, whereby at leaſt they were hindred from ſhooting; his forlorn retired to the main battle, and out of the flanks thereof iſſued with fire-pots and granadoes upon the engaged enemy.

His horſe were in full battalia's, whereof the firſt was the greateſt, lined with ſhot, placed on each wing of the main army; always opening upon the opening of the enemy.

The greateſt truſt between man and man, is the truſt of giving counſel: *For in other confidences* (ſaith my lord Bacon) *men commit the parts of life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, ſome particular affair; but to ſuch as they make their Counſellours, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to faithfulneſs and integrity.* None was more truſted than the marqueſs, none more truſty: none underſtood clearer what was fit, none ſpoke plainer what he underſtood. *What wants a Sovereign?* (ſaid a flattering courtier) *Truth*; (ſaid a ſerious king) never had king more need of it than Henry, never leſs of it than he; whom it was leſs fatal to ruin, than to diſpleaſe. But this ſoldier was as much above feare as flattery, that told him when penſive, *That never was that man merry, that had more than one Woman in his Bed, more than one Friend in his Boſom, more than one Faith in his Heart.*

So wary was this gentleman, that he was not raſh, and ſo loſt his advantage; ſo valiant that he was not contemptible, and ſo loſt his command: he led others by the ſtrongeſt authority of his own forwardneſs, his own example; he was led himſelf by the beſt guide, his own obſervation, his own experience: his book limitted

mitted not his deſign, nor his paper-plot his undertakings. Hen. 8.

Hand-ſervice was his excerciſe, but the ſea his delight: the compaſs his ſtudy, the ſtars his care, trade his thoughts, our own and forein havens his diſcourſe, a ſea-man his familiar, and three ſea-fights his triumph: his converſe and ſpeech was ſouldier-like, plain, ſhort, ſmart and material: there was a time when he would ſay nothing, and a time when he would ſay ſomething; but never a time when he would ſay all.

He was in a word the happy man, who, notwithſtanding that the times could not endure his virtues, nor he their vices, died at once full of honour at court, and applauſe in the country, with this monument from the king, *That Honeſt and Good Man.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Robert Wingfield.

His parts and perſon endeared him to the Engliſh court, his travel and experience recommended him to forein negotiations, particularly in the emperour Maximilian's court, whom his arguments and his own intereſt drew off from France; ſir Robert helping him to ſome obſervations touching the breach of the article of Cambray, as his pretenſe to this alteration, and offering him what men and money he pleaſed, as his encouragement to this undertaking: Lloyd

Hen. 8. taking: ſending in the mean time one Nicholas Weſt, D. L. and dean of Windſor, to feel the pulſe of all the princes in Chriſtendome; and adviſing, upon an entire reflection on their ſeveral intereſts, the repair of our frontier towns and forts, an army ready in the north, and a conſtant parliament. He is deputy of Calice, and vice-roy of France: what the French loſt in the field, they got by treaty, until ſir Richard's time, whoſe policy went as far as his maſter's power, in that accord, *Which tyed up* (they ſaid) *the French King's hands behind his back, and the Scotch between his legs.* Yea, he almoſt perſwaded Maximilian out of his empire, 1615, though he wiſhed the king not to accept of it until the French were out of Italy. Some do better by friends or letters, ſir Robert beſt by himſelf; obſerving that he never failed, but when he intruſted others with what he could do himſelf; his perſon breeding regard, and his eye ſeeing more than any he could employ; and his preſent mind being more ready in his own affairs upon any alteration to come on, draw back, or otherwiſe accommodate matters, than any ſubſtitute, who ſeeth not the bottom of things, nor turns to occaſions. He had about him his blades and gallants, to expoſtulate, his orators and fair-ſpoken-men, to perſwade; his cloſe and ſubtile ones, to enquire and obſerve; his froward men, to perplex; and his plain agents, to report: attendants for all ſervices, whoſe experience made them knowing and confident. Doctor Weſt, Pace, Lee, and Gardener's way was the circuit afar off; ſir Robert's was the ſurprize, quick and nicked, no man obſerving time more cloſely;

ly; no man watching natures tempers, intereſts Hen. 8.
advantages and ends more indefatigably. It was the obſervation of thoſe dayes, that ſir Robert Wingfield was the beſt to prepare and ripen deſigns, and ſir Thomas Bolen to execute them: but that age was two boyſterous, and he too wary to advance beyond the reputation of a knowing agent, in which capacity he lived; or of a reſolved patriot, with which honour he dieth.

Obſervations on the Life of Edward Stafford, *Duke of* Buckingham.

HIS blood was high, his revenue large; and he was born to *adorn* the court, rather than to *ſerve* it. He vied with the king in gallantry, and with the cardinal in pride: of the one he ſpeaks irreverently, *That Women governed him more than he did the Kingdome*; of the other indiſcreetly, *That* Francis *governed* France, and Harry England, and Wolſey both; adding, *That the Commonalty might well complain, when we had two Kings to maintain.* That which ruineth the world, ruineth him, his *Tongue.* Fate never undid a man without his own indiſcretion; and her firſt ſtroke is at the *Head.* Abroad, none more gorgeous; at home, none more noble: at court, ſplendid; among his tenants, prince-like; to his relations, impartial. A ſervant always pulled down the houſe of the Staffords; and now one Knevet his ſteward, whom he had diſcharged Lloyd.

for

Hen. 8. for oppreſſing his tenants, undoeth him: for his father in-law the earl of Northumberland is ſet under a cloud, and his ſon in-law the earl of Surrey is removed, on pretenſe of honourable employment, out of the way; and Wolſey's malice at the duke hath its full ſcope, who now deals with Knevet's diſcontent to diſcover his maſter's life, and ſuggeſt, that the duke by way of diſcourſe was wont to ſay how he meant to uſe the matter, that if king Henry died without iſſue, he would attain the crown, and puniſh the cardinal. George Nevil lord Abergavenny his ſon-in-law, impeached him, to ſave himſelf. His title to the crown was, his deſcent from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſon to Edward the third. His accuſation was,

1. That he had conferred with a cunning man, (Hopkins, monk of Henton) concerning the future ſtate of this realm; who adviſed him to popularity: for he ſhould have all, if he had but the love of the people: the Wizard confirming this by revolutions, and the duke rewarding it with great encouragement.

2. That he diſparaged the preſent government, and uſed arts to ſecure the ſucceſſion.

3. That he had threatned king Henry with the ſame dagger that ſhould have muthered Richard the third.

He denied the charge very eloquently, and diſclaimed his life very raſhly; his fooliſh words, rather than any deſigned malice, deſerving rather pity then judgement. Much lamented was he

he by the people, and as much was the cardinal Hen. 8. maliced, being now called by the whole multitude *The Butcher's Son.* When Buckingham fell, three things fell with him:

1. The ſplendour of the court.
2. Hoſpitality, and good landlords in the country. And,
3. The high-conſtableſhip of England.

All greatneſs is ſubject to envy; but none more than that which is inſolent and affected, being never its ſelf without its pomp and ſhew. Plain and modeſt greatneſs is only ſafe: a witch then blaſts a man when moſt proſperous, and the envious (the onely wizard in the world) when moſt glorious. Wiſe men therefore have eclipſed themſelves, that they might not be gazed on; and great ones have ſhrunk, and ſuffered themſelves to be over-born, to be ſecure. Vain-glorious men are the ſcorn of the wiſe, the admiration of fools, the idols of paraſites, and the envy of the unworthy, the buſie, the unfortunate, the ambitious, and the rivals. He lives well, that lives in peace; and he is ſafely great, that is great in his *Conſcience.* Anger ſure is but a weakneſs in any man, (it belongeth ſo much to the aged and the childiſh) and an indecency in a *Noble-man:* yet it might have been a gallantry in this duke, had it not, 1. Revealed ſecrets and ſo betrayed him; and 2. Spoke bitterly and dangerouſly, and ſo abuſed him. So far will diſcontent carry nature, that it eaſily believes what it wiſheth: ſo much doth a prophetick vanity ſway Engliſh-men, (that have the moſt of *men* of any in the world in divinations, and an itch to know things to come) that the wittieſt ſir Tho-

Hen. 8. Thomas More, the moſt devout biſhop Fiſher, the wiſeſt cardinal Wolſey, and the moſt noble the duke of Buckingham, have been undone by hearkening after predictions; the two firſt, of Elizabeth Barton; the third of John Sacheveril; and the fourth, monk Hopkins. Always are theſe divinations (like the aſtrologers in Rome) by ſevere laws forbidden; yet always are they by vain perſons obtruded. *Many Wives, no England!* hardened many a male-content to his ruine in king Henry the eighth's time: *When HEMPE is ſpun*, England *is done*, encouraged many a papiſt to his undoing in queen Elizabeth's time: *Leo*, *Nullus*, confirmed many a deluded ſoul to his downfal in our days.

It was as fatal to this great man to truſt his ſteward, as his wizard; the one deluded, the other betrayed him. It undoeth a man to be too cloſe; therefore we have friends to eaſe our ſelves: it ruineth a man to be too open; therefore there is a *ſecret* not to be communicated to a friend. When the duke of Buckingham made Knevet his confeſſour, he made him his maſter. He that is maſter of my *Heart*, is maſter of my *Life*: *If my Shirt*, ſaid Metellus, *knew my mind, I would burn it.* If my ſervant or friend knows my intentions, I muſt either undo him, or be undone by him, unleſs he be ſo much above a man, as not out of weakneſs to *diſcover* me; or ſo much above a ſinner, as not out of corruption to *betray* me. Wild beaſts dwell in dens, fiſhes be in mud, and birds in neſts, and a wiſe man is wrapped up in ſecurity. Gyges his ring was his wiſdome, whereby he underſtood others, and was reſerved himſelf. It's pity he ever learned to

ſpeak,

ſpeak, that knoweth not how to be ſilent. *I* Hen. 8. *would firſt be ſo wiſe*, (ſaith a wit and wiſdome of our age) *as to be my own Counſellour, and next ſo ſecret as to be my own Counſel-keeper.* Some of my ſervants may be of my bed-chamber, but none ſhall be of my cloſet. *Before I told you of this* (ſaith Charles the fifth of a deſigne diſcovered upon the ſeventeen provinces, to his favourite Hunemberg) *I was Emperour, but now you are.*

But the heighth of the duke's ſpirit was equally unfortunate with the openneſs of it; and he fell no leſs becauſe he deſpiſed Knevet, than becauſe he truſted him.

Contemned dangers ruine *ſurely*, while they ſurprize us at once naked, and careleſs; as ill prepared to offend the ſlighted adverſary, as to defend our miſunderſtood ſelves. The leaſt beings have their ſpleen, and command our caution: no creature too mean to be *miſchievous*; none too inconſiderate to be *feared*. As long as weakneſs can cling to power, and power to malice, what Knevet *would*, but *could* not, that Wolſey could and would. If my enemy be ſtrong, he ſhall awe; if weak, he ſhall guard my life. Two things are neceſſary in this life, faithful friends, or ſevere enemies: the fewer of the former men of the duke's fortune have, the more uſe they ſhould make of the latter. The greateſt enemy, when obſerved, may do me a great kindneſs; the leaſt neglected, can do no little miſchief: ſecurity is the only misfortune, and careleſſneſs the only fate that diſtreſſeth the world.

But

Hen. 8. But the duke threw away his life in a fatal word that could not be recalled, *(I'le not aſk the King for my Life.)* Great need have we to guard that tongue, whence flows the iſſues of life and death; and weigh thoſe words that go abroad for the meaſure of our weal or wo; our words being given us to treat with the world about either, diſcreetly to our happineſs, or weakly to our ruine. It hath repented men that they have ſpoken at all times; it repented none to have been ſilent in king Henry's, when there was no ſecurity but to the *Reſerved*, and the *Pliable*. Dionyſius the tyrant, ſeeing one knocked down at one blow, ſaid to his friends; *what a folly is it to quit ſo fair a command for fear of dying, which laſts, no longer a ſpace!*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Anthony Brown.

Lloyd. HE was always one of the council to king Henry at home, and of his commiſſioners abroad: no treaty paſſing without his preſence, no negotiation without his advice; the firſt carrying as much majeſty with it, as the ſecond did authority: the court having bred the one to a noble mein, as experience had done the other to an oracle; experience, I ſay, whereby he ſaw more, as Alexander boaſted, with his eye, than others comprehended in their thoughts; that being knowledg in him, that was but conjecture in others.

He

He was the beſt compound in the world; a *learned*, an *honeſt*, and a *travelled* man; a good nature, a large ſoul, and a ſettled mind, made up of notes and obſervations upon the moſt material points of ſtate he could learn at courts; of religion, among the clergy; of diſcipline, among ſoldiers; of trade, among merchants; or of the ſituation, intereſt, avenues and ſtrong holds, with his own eyes. *It's a pleaſure to ſtand upon the ſhore, and to ſee ſhips toſt upon the Sea; it's a pleaſure to ſtand in the window of a Caſtle, and to ſee a Battel, with the adventures thereof below: but no pleaſure is comparable to the ſtanding upon the Vantground of Truth: (an Hill,* ſaith my noble author) *not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and ſerene; and to ſee the errors and wandrings, the miſts and tempeſts in the Vale below:* that content is better felt than expreſſed that this noble perſon took in his own clear thoughts, when it was miſt all round about him; and king Henry cried, *What ſay* Cromwel *and* Brown? Hen. 8.

Veſpaſian aſked Apollonius *What was* Nero's *overthrow?* and he anſwered him, *Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government ſometimes he wound the pins too high, and ſometimes he let them down too low.* Sir Anthony told Henry the eighth, *That his Government had been more eaſie, if he had either ſet it not ſo looſe at firſt, or not ſo ſtrict at laſt:* (as there was indeed no king ſo various as his maſter, no ſtate ſo changeable as his government.) An even temper begets awe and reverence; whilſt the wide extreams create either on the one hand contempt and inſolence, or on the other diſcontent and murmuring. Haughty

Hen. 8. and violent courts never bleſs the owners with a ſettled peace.

This deep man was leiger in Rome ſix years, and agent in France ten: a perſon of great diſpatch, becauſe of an orderly method and procedure; which he obſerved to a ſuperſtition, ſaying, *Time and Method are my Maſters. There are* (ſaith my oracle) *three parts of buſineſs, preparation, debate, and perfection:* the middle king Henry communicated to the whole [illegible], the firſt and laſt to few, *viz.* to my lord Cromwel and ſir Anthony Brown.

The higheſt matters were his care; as the *Interview* in France, 1532, the moſt eminent ſtateſmen his fellows, as the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford and the lord Paulet; thoſe noble perſons bearing the ſtate, and he managing the buſineſs of the embaſſy.

The wiſe man of Florence took care that Ferdinando of Naples, Medices of Florence, Sforza of Millain ſhould gain nothing of one another; to the great ſecurity of Italy: ſir Anthony watched our neighbours conqueſts, trade, approaches, &c. ſo cloſely, that none of thoſe potentates, Charles the fifth, or king Francis, could win a ſpot of ground, but his maſter would balance it, and ſo ſecure Europe.

The interviews between princes he diſallowed; yet to ſatisfie his maſter, he provided for that in France ſo ſumptuouſly, as one that underſtood the formality of a pageant was a real advantage to a government whoſe intereſt is as much to gain a reputation by pomp and ſhew, as ſupport a welfare by prudence and ſtrength: others apprehenſion of our greatneſs, contributing as much

much to our welfare, as our welfare it ſelf: opi- Hen. 8.
nion governs the world: princes *with* their ma-
jeſty may be oft envied and hated; *without* it,
they are always ſcorned and contemned: circum-
ſtances are often more than the main, and ſhadows
are not always ſhadows: outward eſteem to a
great perſon, is a ſkin to fruit, which though a
thin cover, preſerveth it: king Henry's perſon
and ſtate did England more right in a *Year*, than
his predeceſſors arms in an *Age*; while they onely
impreſſed a *reſolution* in the neighbours, he a *re-
verence*. As the reaſon of man correcting of his
ſenſe about the magnitude and diſtance of
heavenly bodies, is an argument that he hath an
inorganical, immaterial, impaſſible, and immor-
tal ſoul; ſo this gentleman's conſcience often re-
flecting upon his policy, about the circumſtances
of many of his actions, was an argument that
he was ruled by holy, ſerious, and heavenly
principles: one effect whereof, was, that he de-
ſired rather the admoniſhing paines of a lingring
death, than the favourable eaſe of a quick one,
he reckoning it not the effect of cruelty, but a
deſign of mercy, that he ſhould dye ſo *ut ſentiat
ſe mori*; and he looked on nothing as ſo great a
ſnare to his thoughts as the opinion of Origen,
and ſome others called merciful doctors, who did
endeavour to poſſeſs the church with their opi-
nion of an univerſal reſtitution of all creatures
to their priſtine eſtate, after ſufficient purgation;
or any thing more a temptation to other mens
ſouls, than the blaſphemy of ſome, making God
the author of good and evil, ſo much worſe than
the *Manichees* or *Marcionites*, as they held it not
of their good God, whom they called *Light*;

Hen. 8. but of their bad God whom they called *Darkneſs.*

As princes govern the people, ſo reaſon of ſtate the princes: Spain at that time would command the ſea, to keep us from the Indies: and our religion to keep us from a ſettlement: France ſuſpected our neighbourhood, and engaged Scotland; the pope undermined our defences, and obliged the French. Sir Anthony attended in reſpectful terms, and under pretentation that his majeſty intended no contempt of the ſee apoſtolick, or holy church, intimated his maſter's appeal to the next general council lawfully aſſembled; exhibiting alſo the authentick inſtruments of the ſame, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury's at the conſiſtory, where, though the pope made forty French cardinals, yet our agent and his money made twelve Engliſh, and taught Francis to aſſume the power of diſpoſing monaſteries and benefices, as king Henry had done; adviſing him to inform his ſubjects clearly of his proceedings, and unite with the princes of the reformation, taking his parliament and people along with him, and by their advice cutting off the appeals *to* and revenues *of* Rome, by viſitations, *&c.* with a *Præmunire*, together with the oath of ſupremacy, and the publication of the prohibited degrees of marriages: he added in his expreſſes, *That his Majeſty ſhould by diſguiſed Envoys divide between the Princes and the Empire.*

The next ſight we have had of him is in Scotland; the French king's paſſage to England, (as he calls it:) where in joint commiſſion with the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Durham, he with his variety of inſtructions gained time

time until the French king was embroyled at home, the ſeaſon of action was over there, and the duke of Norfolk ready to force that with a war, which could not be gained by treaty. Fortune is like the market, where many times if you can ſtay a little, the price will fall: the ripeneſs and unripeneſs of the occaſion muſt be well weighed: watch the beginning of an action, and then lay it! Two things make a compleat politician, ſecrecy in councel, and celerity in execution. Hen. 8.

But our knight's prudence was not a heavy warineſs, or a dull caution, as appears by his preferment at court, where he is *Maſter of the Horſe*; and his ſervice in the north, where he and the *Comptroller* Sr. Anthony Gage are in the head of 10000 men: in both theſe places his excellence was more in chuſing his officers and followers, than in acting himſelf: his ſervants were modeſt and ſober, troubling him with nothing but his buſineſs, and expecting no higher conditions, than countenance, protection, and recommendation; and his retainers peaceable, reſerved, cloſe, plain, and hopeful: the deſerving ſouldier and the promiſing were ſeen often at his gate, not in throngs, to avoid popularity: equal was his favour, that none might be inſolent, and none diſcontented; yet ſo diſcreetly diſpenſed, as made the preferred faithful, and the expectants officious. To be ruled by one, is ſoft and obnoxious; by many, troubleſome: to be adviſed by few, as he was, is ſafe: becauſe (as he ſaid in ſome things out of his element) *the Vale beſt diſcovereth the Hill.*

Hen. 8. Although he underſtood not the main matter of war, yet he knew many of its falls and incidents; his prudence being as able to lay a ſtratagem, as others experience was to embattail an army. Sir Thomas Wharton warden of the marches he commands with 300 men behind an ambuſh, whither he draws the raſh Scots, and overthroweth them more with the ſurprize than his power, taking the lord admiral Maxwel, &c. who was committed to his cuſtody, and putting that king to ſo deep a melancholy, that he died upon it. His death ſuggeſts new councels, and ſir Anthony watcheth in Scotland to gain his daughter for our prince, or at leaſt to prevent the French, whom ſir William Paget watcheth there, as ſir Ralph Sadler did in Rome, and ſir John Wallop at Calais: and when that king's deſign was diſcovered, we find our knight with Charles duke of Suffolk, lieutenant-general; Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, lord-general; Will. Paulet, lord St. John, Stephen biſhop of Wincheſter, with a rich and ſtrong army, expecting one king before Montrevil, (which they took with Bologn) and forcing the French to a peace and ſubmiſſion that ſecured England, and ſettled Europe.

Three things facilitate all things: 1. Knowledg, 2. Temper, 3. Time. Knowledge our knight had either of his own or others, whom he commanded in whatever he went about, laying the ground of matters always down in writing, and debating them with his friends, before he declared himſelf in council. A temperance he had, that kept him out of the reach of others, and brought others within *his*. Time he took, always

always driving, never being *driven* by his buſineſs; which is rather a huddle, than a perfor- Hen. 8.
mance, when in haſte: there was ſomething that all admired, and which was more, ſomething that all were pleaſed with, in this man's action. The times were dark, his carriage ſo too: the waves were boyſterous, but he the ſolid rock, or the well-guided ſhip that could go with the tide. He maſtered his own paſſion, and others too, and both by time and opportunity; therefore he died with that peace the ſtate wanted, and with that univerſal repute the ſtates-men of thoſe troubleſome times enjoyed not.

By king Henry's will he got a legacy of 300 *l.* for his former ſervice; and the honour to be of prince EDWARD's ſpecial council for the future.

By his order he had, as his ſhare of abbey-lands, Battle-Abbey in Suſſex, enjoyed by his heirs male in a direct line to this day: and by his authority he had the honourable *Garter*.

He was the firſt man that durſt bring his maſter the ſad news, that he muſt die: and no wonder he durſt do it, for the next news is, that he is dead himſelf. *How dareſt thou be ſo plain!* ſaid *Heliogabalus* to the courtier: *Becauſe I dare die*, ſaid he: *I can but die, if I am Faithful; and I muſt die, though I Flatter.*

This gentleman's humour of croſſing preſent proceedings, was prettily reproved by king Hen. the eighth's little ſtory of a poor woman drowned by miſchance, whoſe dead body, whilſt her neighbours ſought for down the river; her huſband who knew her condition better than they

Hen. 8. they, adviſed them to ſeek up the river; for all her life long ſhe loved to be contrary to all others, and he preſumed ſhe would ſwim againſt the ſtream being dead.

The end of the obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of England, in the reign of king Henry the eighth.

THE

THE STATES-MEN AND FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of King *Edward* the VI.

Obſervations on the Life of EDWARD VI.

THE following character is given by Cardan, a famous Italian, who writ it, after the death of Edward, and in Italy, where this prince was deemed an heretic; and when he could not expect any thing by flattering him. Rapin.

"All the graces were in him. He had many "tongues when he was yet but a child: together "with the Engliſh his natural tongue, he had "both Latin and French: nor was he ignorant, "as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh, "and

Edw. 6. " and perhaps ſome more. But for the Engliſh,
" French and Latin, he was exact in them;
" and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ig-
" norant of logic, of the principles of natural
" philoſophy, nor of muſick. The ſweetneſs
" of his temper was ſuch as become a mortal,
" his gravity becoming the majeſty of a king,
" and his diſpoſition ſuitable to his high degree.
" In ſum, that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts,
" was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like
" a miracle of a man. Theſe things are not
" ſpoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but
" are indeed ſhort of it. And afterwards he
" adds, he was a marvellous boy: when I was
" was with him, he was in the 15th year of his
" age, in which he ſpake Latin as politely and
" as promptly as I did: he aſked me what was
" the ſubject of my books, *de rerum varietate*,
" which I had dedicated to him? I anſwered,
" that in the firſt chapter I gave the true cauſe
" of comets, which had been long enquired
" into, but was never found out before. What
" is it, ſaid he? I ſaid it was the concourſe of
" the light of wandering ſtars. He anſwered
" how can that be, ſince the ſtars move in diffe-
" rent motions? how comes it that the comets
" are not ſoon diſſipated, or do not move after
" them according to their motions? to this I
" anſwered, they do move after them, but much
" quicker than they, by reaſon of the different
" aſpect, as we ſee in a chriſtal, or when a rain-
" bow rebounds from the wall: for a little
" change makes a great difference of place.
" But the king ſaid, how can that be, where
" there is no ſubject to receive that light, as the
wall

" wall is the ſubject for the rain-bow? to this I Edw. 6.
" anſwered, that this was in the milky-way, or
" where many candles were lighted, the middle
" place where their ſhining met was white and
" clear. From this little taſt it may be imagined
" what he was. And indeed the ingenuity and
" ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition had raiſed in all
" good and learned men the greateſt expectation
" of him poſſible. He began to love the libe-
" ral arts before he knew them, and to know
" them before he could uſe them: and in him
" there was ſuch an attempt of nature, that not
" only England, but the world has reaſon to
" lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. How
" truly was it ſaid of ſuch extraordinary perſons,
" that their lives are ſhort, and ſeldom do they
" come to be old? he gave us an eſſay of vir-
" tue, though he did not live to give a pattern
" of it. When the gravity of a king was need-
" ful, he carried himſelf like an old man; and
" yet he was always affable and gentle, as be-
" came his age. He played on the lute: he
" medled in affairs of ſtate: and for bounty, he
" did in that emulate his father; though he
" even, when he endeavoured to be too good,
" might appear to have been bad: but there
" was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in
" the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the
" ſtudy of philoſophy."

It is ſaid, king Edward was in body beauti-
ful, of a ſweet aſpect, and eſpecially in his eyes,
which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſs and luſtre
in them. He kept a book, in which he writ
the characters of all the chief men of the nation,
all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and juſtices of
the

Edw. 6. the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had ſtudied the buſineſs of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He alſo underſtood fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as alſo in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired ſo great a knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambaſſadors who were ſent into England publiſhed very extraordinary things of him, in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almoſt every thing he heard, which he writ firſt in Greek characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal, written with his own hand, is ſtill preſerved in ſir John Cotton's famous library. In it the moſt conſiderable tranſactions in this reign are perhaps as well regulated (ſays Biſhop Nicolſon) by the young king himſelf, as by any other hiſtorian.

Obſervations on the Lives of the Seymours.

EDward Seymour and Thomas Seymour, *both Sons of* ſir John Seymour *of* Wolful *in* Wiltſhire. *I join them together, becauſe whilſt they were united in affection, they were invincible; but when divided, eaſily overthrown by their enemies.* Edward

EDward *Duke of* Somerſet, *Lord Protector and Treaſurer of* England, *being the elder Brother, ſucceeded to a fair Paternal inheritance. He was a valiant Souldier for Land-ſervice, fortunate, and generally beloved by martial men. He was of an open nature, free from jealouſie and diſſembling, affable to all people. He married* Anne, *daughter to ſir* Edward Stanhop, *a Lady of a high mind, and haughty undaunted ſpirit.*

THOMAS SEYMOUR *the Younger brother, was made* BARON *of* Sudley; *and, by Offices and the favours of his Nephew, King* Edward *the ſixth, obtained a great Eſtate. He was well experienced in Sea-Affairs, and made Lord Admiral of England. He lay at a cloſe poſture, being of a reſerved nature, and more cunning in his carriage. He married queen* Katherine Parr, *the Widow of King* Henry 8. Edw. 6.

Very great the Animoſities betwixt their Wives; the Dutcheſs refuſing to bear the Queen's Train, and in effect juſtled with her for precedence: ſo that what betwixt the Train of the Queen, and long Gown of the Dutcheſs, they raiſed ſo much duſt at the Court, as at laſt put out the eyes of both their Huſbands, and occaſioned their Executions.

Their ſiſters beauty commended them to the king's favours; (but a frail ſupport that! which is as laſting only as a phancy, and only as certain as paſſion:) therefore their parts recommended them to his ſervice. Affection ſhall lead me to court, but I'le take care that intereſt keeps me there.

Sir

Edw. 6. Sir Edward Seymour's temper ſuited with the king's inclinations, and his ſpirit with his times; *both* high, *both* ſtirring. In the throng of courtiers, there are but three ſteps to raiſe a man to obſervations: 1. Some peculiar ſufficiency; 2. Some particular exploit; and, 3. An eſpecial friend: this noble perſon ſhewed the firſt with advantage, in that draught of military diſcipline preſented to Henry the eighth, wherein the embattelling is moſt remarkable, *viz. Twenty two compleat Companies make up four Squadrons; every Squadron of Pikes and Muſquets being drawn up apart, the Pikes and Colours on the left hand, and the Muſqueteers on the right. Theſe Squadrons make up a* Brigade, *to be drawn up as followeth*, viz. *Ten Corporalſhips of Muſqueteers being 34 Rots, divided into five Plattons, every Platton being nine or ſo in front, led by a Major, and every diviſion by a ſufficient Commander. Next after theſe, Thirty ſix Rots of Pikes are to follow, (being twelve Corporalſhips) with their Colours following them, till they are drawn up even in front with the 32 Rots of Muſqueteers: This makes the Right Wing of the Brigade. 2. The Battle of Pikes moveth forward in diviſion, doing in all reſpects as the former, till they range even in front with the Pikes of the Right Wing: Then the other 32 Rots of Muſqueteers belonging to the middle Squadron, (who are appointed to make the Battel of the Brigade) are led up as the firſt Muſqueteers in all points, but at a reaſonable diſtance behind the Pikes of their own Squadrons. Then the laſt Squadron of Pikes marcheth up, in all reſpects obſerving the ſame order, until they have attained to range in front even with other Pikes.*

This

— *This being done, the Battel or middle Squadron* Edw. 6.
of Pikes and Muſquets advanceth in one body, until it's clear of the Wings. Laſtly, the ſurplus of the three Squadrons being 48 *Rots of Muſqueteers, are drawn up behind the Brigades, where they are to attend the commands of their Officers, to guard the Baggage or Cannon, to be Convoys for Ammunition or Victuals to the reſt, or continue a reſerve to wait upon all occaſions.*

2. Eminent was his ability for this draught, more eminent for his performance agreeable to it in Britain; where he ſate before a town ſix weeks to no purpoſe, while it expected relief from Italy: but at laſt he inſinuates a jealouſie between the pope and the French king touching that city that obſtructed all relief: he with as much ſpeed and policy ſets upon the two main ſconces for defenſe of the town, and took them both; battering the town and caſtle with that violence and noiſe, that they ſay it was heard 100 miles off. A train of powder is laid to blow them up when they ſhould enter; but this ſucceeded not: for the French in paſſing the ditch had ſo wetted their cloaths, that dropping upon the train, the powder would not take fire: and ſo all things conſpiring to crown his valour with ſucceſs; he takes the caſtle firſt, and then dividing the town, and weakening it by ſeveral aſſaults at once, brought it to his own terms. Here his valour had been eminent, but that his conduct was more; and his conduct renowned, but that his nobleneſs towards the conquered, his civility and obligingneſs towards the ſouldiery, and his integrity towards all perſons, had out-done that.

There

Edw. 6. There are but two things that a ſubject can honeſtly oblige his prince in: 1. Keeping his ſubjects in peace at home, 2. Keeping his enemies under abroad: 1. Thoſe ſoft, but prudent acts of peace; 2. Thoſe reſolved, but well-managed wayes of war: ſir Thomas wanted neither a reſolution for the one, nor a temper for the other.

But ſufficiency and merits are neglected things when not befriended: (Princes are too reſerved to be taken with the firſt appearances of worth unleſs recommended by tryed judgments: it's fit as well as common, that they have their counſellours for perſons as well as things:) his ſiſter therefore was married on Whitſunday, and he is on the Tueſday following created viſcount Beauchamp. But the next year his nephew is born; the hope and ſtay of his majeſty and his realmes, and he is made earl of Hertford.

King Henry underſtanding that the pope upon his own and cardinal Pool's account ſtirred up all the princes againſt him, as a provident prince, rode himſelf to the ſea-coaſts to ſee them fortified. Admiral Fitz-Williams is old, ſir Thomas Seymour aſſiſts him to rigg the navy to be in readineſs in ſix dayes time: ſir Edward is maſter of the land-forces, and particularly the city of London, where were 15000 armed men ready, May 8, in St. Jameſes, at which place the city ſeemed a camp, and the citizens men not of the gown, but of the *Armour*. Great this lord's *intereſt in* and *reſpect with* the people; as great his brother's with the ſea-men: the multitude would leave all for their good lord of Hertford, and the ſea-men would die with their noble lord Seymour. When the king of Scots had deluded king Henry in

in his correſpondencies with France beyond all patience, and had been forborn beyond all ſafety or prudence, ſir Edward Seymour is firſt ſent to treat, and then to fight; which he did with ſo much ſucceſs, that 300 of his men, and a ſtratagem, (to poſſeſs the Scots with an apprehenſion that the whole Engliſh army was upon them) took and killed 30000 Scots, had more priſoners than they could keep, more booty than they could diſpoſe of; and adding this to their victory, that they broke the king's heart. Edw. 6.

There was no end to be expected of a war with Scotland, but by marrying that king's daughter to our ſovereign's ſon. This match was my lord Seymour's intereſt as well as the king's: his prudence and experience is therefore employed firſt to *perſwade it*; and when that would not do, (ſo great and ſo croſs the papal power there by cardinal Beton's means) his valour and reſolution is ſent with 10000 men to compel it: in order whereunto, *May* 4, landing at Granther-Gray, he marcheth in order towards Leith, which (after a defeat given the cardinal, the earls of Arran, Huntley, *&c.* by his harquebuſiers) they entered, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh: my lord Dudley leading the front, our earl the battle, and the earl of Shrewſbury the reerward:) there the keys are offered them upon conditions; which they refuſing, (and ſo making the enemy deſperate, who reſolveth rather to periſh nobly, than to be undone by ſubmiſſion) the town holds out, and they are able to do no more, with ſome conſiderable loſs, then burn the ſuburbs, waſt the country to an utter deſolation for ſeven miles com-

Edw. 6. paſs, demoliſh Leith, Dunbar, &c. take all their ſhips and ammunition, returning to Berwick with the loſs only of 14 men.

Two things he was eminent for:

1. His advice, that not the leaſt punctilio of the law ſhould be neglected: whereupon the earl of Surrey and other nobility were impriſoned *for eating Fleſh in Lent.* A ſecret and unobſerved contempt of the law, is a cloſe undermining of authority; which muſt be either its ſelf in indulging nothing, or be nothing in allowing *all.* Liberty knows no reſtraint, no limit, when *winked* at.

2. For his popularity, in advancing the Benevolence 52000 *l.* beyond expectation.

The Scots muſt have war as long as there is poverty in their country, and intereſt in France: this noble earl cutteth off the invaders, layeth waſt the country, and (that the ſource of thoſe troubles might be *dammed* up) entreth France with 80000 men; and after ſome ſkirmiſhes, brought the king thereof to a peace and ſubmiſſion.

In purſuance whereof, while king Henry was in Bologn, he made his will, wherein the earl of Hertford lord high chamberlain is appointed principal counſellour to his nephew: and not long after he dyeth, and leaves the kingdome to his ſon, and his ſon to his uncle, whom the common vote made protector, and intereſt a moderator of the council, which the time required able, but their humours made factious. The peace with king Francis and the emperour was but uncertain; the Scots were irreconcileable, the pope implacable, religion unſettled, the clergy out of frame, the people diſtracted, and the nobility at variance. A great counſel-

lour

your king Henry leaves his ſon, and a greater his uncle makes him, * "In counſel is ſtability: "things will have their firſt or ſecond agitation: "if they be not toſſed upon the arguments of "counſel, they will be toſſed upon the waves of "fortune." But yet this lord miſcarried, in that the council underſtood him better than he did them: and he adviſed with them rather in publick, where men ſpeak warily, and in compliance with others humour; than in private, where they deliver themſelves more freely, and agreeable to their own humours. (The rule is, *aſk an inferiour man's advice in private that he may be free; and a ſuperiour's in publick, that he may be reſpectful.)* But he did well, 1. In that the ſame matter if weighed, was never propounded and reſolved the ſame day. 2. In that he had fixed dayes of petitions, for the peoples and his own eaſe. 3. In that he poyzed his committees of contrary inclinations, that watched and balanced each other to a moderation moſt ſafe for the kingdome and himſelf. 4. That he had of all profeſſions ſuch at his command as opened the ſtate of a buſineſs before any commiſſioners debated it. 5. That he ſeldome diſcovered his own inclination, leſt it byaſſed his *Counſel.* 6. That to prevent a combination in the council, he weakened their power and priviledges, their credit, their dependencies, either by office or expectation, their opportunities and correſpondencies, ſo that he could eaſily remove any when faulty, diſcover any when dangerous, diſgrace any when bold, and not fit to be entruſted with the *Counſels*, *Reſolves*, *Deliberations*, and *Neceſſities* of the ſtate.

Edw. 6.

* Bacon's Eſſ. 116.

Edw. 6. In order to which, he had two uſeful reſolutions. 1. To ſuppreſs calumnies, 2. To encourage accuſations. His firſt acts were ſhew and pomp, (neceſſary for greatneſs, *viz.* the knighting of the king, and making himſelf duke. His next are *Realities:* as, 1. His modelling the country for a parliament, conſidering the temper of the people, and the pulſe of the laſt parliament; redreſſing grievances, ſettling elections by ſuch legal rules, as that the people ſhould not be corrupted with money, overborn by importunity, tranſported by fear or favour to an unworthy or an unſuitable choice; and taking a juſt time to prepare the people for the deſigned ſettlement, by his grave and ſober injunctions, by godly and good books of inſtructions, by a wholſome form of prayer, (compoſed at Windſor) by a more exact tranſlation of the bible, by ſeveral proclamations for moderation and order on all hands, by inhibiting all preachers but ſuch *learned, ſober, grave,* and *diſcreet* men as were licenſed thereunto under the lord protector's and my lord of Canterbury's hand.

2. His promoting the match with Scotland, firſt by ambaſſadours, and then by an army, whoſe order was this: *viz.* * The avant-guard of 3 or 4000 foot-men at arms, and 600 light-horſe led by the earl of Warwick; the main battle of 6000 foot, and 600 men at arms, and 1000 light-horſe, led by the protector; and the rear half ſo many, led by the lord Dacres; the artillery of 16 pieces of ordnance making one wing, the men at arms and demilances the other. For the avant-guard and half of the battel riding about

* The duke of Somerſet's march.

about two flight-ſhot from their ſide, the other Edw. 6.
half of the battel: and the whole flank of the rear was cloſed by the carriages, being 12000 carts and waggons; the reſt of the men at arms and demilances marching behind. A few ſkirmiſhes and ſtratagems paſſed, when a trumpeter is ſent by Huntley to challenge the protector; to whom the protector replying like a wiſe man, that *it was not for a perſon of his truſt to duel it with a private man*; the earl of Warwick ſaid, *Trumpeter, bring me word that thy Maſter will perform the Combat with me, and I'll give thee* 100 *Crowns. Nay, rather*, ſaid our duke, *bring me word that he will give us Battle, and I will give thee* 1000 *l.* But in 25 days he gains a greater * battle, over-runs the country with the loſs of no more then 65 men, to that of 25000 Scots.

3. His third exploit was, diſpenſing † honours ſo nobly, that they were due encouragements to virtue; though yet ſo warily, that they ſhould not be either a burden or a danger to the crown.

4. He gave the commonalty great content, in pulling down encloſures by proclamations; and the nobility no leſs, by ſetting up land-improvements by rule.

5. He engaged both, by a good bargain of church-lands, confirmed by this parliament.

6. He weakeneth the papiſts, 1. By conniving at them until they broke out to ſuch outrages as made them lyable. 2. By dividing them when engaged,

* The ſame day that 30 years ago they were beaten at Flodden.

† He made the firſt and laſt bannerets.

Edw. 6. gaged, with hope of mercy on the one hand, and fear of his army on the other.

7. The French taking the advantage of our ſeditious to break off their treaty, and proclaim a war, he confiſcates their eſtates, and ſecures the perſons of as many of them as lived in England.

But greatneſs is fatal; and his brother that ſhould have ſupported this great man, ruines himſelf and him. He had married a lady * high in ſpirit; his brother the queen-dowager, higher in place: the ladies quarrel firſt, and then (as it muſt needs follow) the lords. Thomas the admiral is queſtioned for aiming at the crown, 1. By marrying the lady Elizabeth, and then by ſeizing the king's perſon and the government: ſo honeſt this protector, (a plain man, and of no over-deep inſight into practices) that he gave way to his tryal, ſaying, (though ſomewhat ominous as it happened) *I'll do and ſuffer Juſtice*: ſo uxorious, that he ſealed his death. And now he ſtands alone, wanting his brother's cunning to reach Warwick, or his reſolution to check Norfolk. The people are troubled at that one weak and unjuſtifiable act of his, the pulling down of ſo *many* of God's churches in the city, to build one Somerſet-houſe in the Strand.

The earl takes notice of their diſcontent, and aſſembleth eighteen diſcontented counſellours, who arm themſelves and their † followers, calling the city and the kingdom to their aſſiſtance by a proclamation. The protector fleeth with he king and a guard to Hampton-Court: the

ity

* The lady Stanhope.

† Whom they put in new liveries.

city ſometimes reſolved to aſſiſt the lords, out of malice to the protector; ſometimes to forbear out of ſuch conſideration of its many misfortunes in oppoſing kings, ſet forth not with more integrity by George Stadlow, then eloquence and life by John Ayliffe. They delay: ſir Anthony Wingfield captain of the guard perſwades the king of the lords moderation and loyalty; the duke is to anſwer for himſelf: the lawyers charge him with removing Weſtminſter-Hall to Somerſet-Houſe, where he kept a court of requeſt, and determined title of lands; the ſouldiers with the detaining of their pay, and betraying our French garriſons; the ſtates-men with the engroſſing of all authority. The earl of Warwick vigilantly but cloſely manageth all diſcontent to his deſigne with this great advantage, that he was ſubtle, cloſe, and implacable; while the other was free-ſpirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to diſtruſt, eaſie to forgive. His friend the lord Ruſſel is abſent: he is firſt tryed and acquitted, but with the loſs of his protectorſhip, treaſurerſhip, marſhalſhip, and 2000 *l.* of land more. Edw. 6.

But Warwick's deſigne for the crown ripening, and Somerſet being the moſt eminent obſtruction in his way, having weakened, before he ruines him, now he chargeth him with treaſon, to make a noiſe; and with *Felony*, to do execution: the council is packed, he looſeth his life (for a ſmall crime, and that on a * nice point, *ſubtilly deviſed and packed by his Enemies*) forgetting to aſk the benefit of the clergy, that had ſaved it. This perſon, as one charactereth him, was religious himſelf, a lover of all ſuch as were ſo, and a great

* For contriving the death of a privy-counſellour.

Edw. 6. great promoter of the reformation: valiant and ſucceſsful, generally beloved by ſouldiers, envied by ſtates-men, though the moſt conſcientious of them all; doing nothing irregularly, but in complyance with the neceſſities of government; open to dangers, as one that could not be jealous; better to act, than deſigne; to perform, than plot. When he was diſcharged of treaſon, there was ſo loud a ſhout in Weſtminſter-Hall, as was heard to Long-Acre; when condemned of felony, there was a ſilence and amazement for three hours. It is obſerved of ſome, that they have deſpiſed the benefit of their clergy while they lived; and by a juſt providence of God, could not make uſe of it when they were to dye: it was pity that this noble perſon ſhould forget to crave that benefit of the clergy, which might have ſaved him; when he was ſo unwilling to enjoy any benefit of the clergy, which might incommode them. The controverſie between him and the earl of Warwick is like that between *Demades* and *Phocion*; *Demades* threatned *Phocian*, that the *Athenians* would deſtroy him when they fell into their mad fits; and thee *Demades* [ſaid *Phocion*] when they return to their right minds: it appearing afterwards, that what he was charged to have deſign'd againſt others, he did only in his own defence, *cum moderamine. Inculpatæ cautelæ*, in whoſe behalf *Cicero* had pleaded thus, *Si vita noſtra in aliquas Inſidias, ſi in vim, in tela aut latronum, aut inimicorum incidiſſet; omnis honeſta ratio eſſet expediendæ ſalutis; hoc & ratio doctis, & neceſſitas barbaris, & mos gentibus, & feris natura ipſa præſcripſit, ut om-*

vem

nem ſemper vim quâcunque ope poſſint a corpore, a capite, a vitâ ſuâ propulſare-nitantur. a Edw. 6.

Beheaded he was on Tower-Hill, with no leſs praiſe for his piety and patience, than pity and grief of the ſpectators. His death was attended with many ſignes and wonders, and his name with an indelible character, his houſe being called Somerſet-houſe to this day, though ſolemnly proclaimed by king James Denmark-houſe, becauſe inhabited by the king of Denmark and his ſiſter. *Surely* (ſaith my author) *this Duke was well beloved, ſince his name made ſuch indelible impreſſion on his houſe, whereof he was not five years in poſſeſſion.* Death hath this alſo, *That it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguiſheth Envy.* *Philip* aſked *Demetrius* if he did not fear to looſe his head? he anſwered, *No:* for if he did, the *Athenians* would give him one immortal; he ſhould be ſtatued in the temple of eternal fame.

Nil non Mortale tenemus,
Pectoris exceptis ingeniiq, bonis:
En ego, cum Patria caream vobisq, domoq;
Raptaq; ſint, adimi quæ potuere mihi,
Virtute attamen ipſe mea comitorq, fruorq;
Cæſar *in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.*
Quilibet hanc ſævo vitam mihi, finiat enſe,
Me tamen extincto fama perennis erit.

" *All that we hold will die,*
" *But our brave Thoughts and Ingenuity:*
" *Even I that want my Country, Houſe and Friend,*
" *From whom is raviſhed all that Fate can rend,*
" *Poſſeſs yet my own Genius, and enjoy*
" *That which is more than* Cæſar *can deſtroy.*

" *Each*

Edw. 6. " *Each Groom may kill me : but whenſoe'er I die,*
" *My Fame ſhall live to mate eternity.*

Brave men never die : worth begets in weak and baſe minds, envy; in the magnanimous, emulation; in poſterity, renown: *A Renown, that is as the beams about the ſun, or the glory about an holy picture, that ſhews it to be a Saint, though it be no eſſential part: it riſeth from the body of that Virtue, which cannot chuſe but ſhine, and give a light through all the clouds of errour and diſtraction.* And though ſometimes the miſts and vapours of the lower earth impede the light it gives, yet there will be apparent rays, that ſhew there is deſert unſeen, which yeilds thoſe gleams of brightneſs to the whole horizon, that it moves and ſhines in, which ſurvive to a glorious kind of immortality, when the good man is dead and gone; a good name being the embalming of the virtuous to an eternity of love and gratitude among poſterity. *For my own Honour* (ſaith the royal martyr) *I am well aſſured, that as mine innocence is clear before God in point of any calumnies they object; ſo my Reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedome in the night) riſe and recover its ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe feral birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear.*

Obſervations on the Lives of the Pars.

SIR William Par uncle and lord chamberlain to queen Katharine Par, was by king Henry the eighth created baron Par of Horton: he left two daughters onely, married into the families of Treſſam and Lane. His relation called him to court, but his age forbid the pleaſures, and his own reſervedneſs the freedom of that place; before which he preferred the pious, peaceable, and hoſpitable way of the countrey, where popularity affected him, more than he affected it; no man being more beloved by the vulgar, no man leſs in love with them: it being his obſervation rather than his countrey-man ſir Edward Mountague's ſaying, *That if you do the common ſort of people nineteen courteſies together, yet you may looſe their love, if you go but over the ſtile before them.* Lloyd.

His couſin ſir William was brought by his ſiſter to court, and advanced by his brother to honour; being for his majeſties ſake as well as his own, made lord Par of Kendal, earl of Eſſex by king Henry the eighth, and marqueſs of Northampton by king Edward: queen Mary deprived him of his eſtate and honour for ſiding with

* There was another of his name ſheriff, nephew to this knight, in 25 of H. 8.

Edw. 6. with the lady Jane, and queen Elizabeth reſtored him to both, for favouring the proteſtant *Religion.*

His delight was muſick and poetry, and his exerciſe war; being a happy compoſure of the hardeſt and ſofteſt diſcipline, equally made for court and camp, for delight or honour: but his ſkill in the field anſwered not his induſtry, nor his ſucceſs his ſkill: yet king Edward called him *His Honeſt Uncle*; and king Henry, *His Integrity.* The whole Family was made by a *Marriage*, but died *Iſſueleſs.*

The common rule of favourites is, to bring in all their relations about them, to adorn and ſupport them: but this marqueſs would ſay, *A wall that hath a firm bottom, had need of no buttreſs; and that which wants it, is often rather thruſt down than upheld by it.* The antiquaries crouch, as though they upheld the church, when they are upheld by it: clients are more a burden than a ſtrength: and when the chief favourite dares not diſpleaſe his ſovereign becauſe he is ſo near him, they dare, becauſe he is between them and majeſty. His followers were not gaudy, to render him ſuſpicious; nor diſcontented, to breed ill blood, and a miſunderſtanding; nor too open, to diſcover him: but *deſerving*, to honour him; and *hopeful*, to be advanced by him. Active men were recommended by him to king Henry's buſie occaſions, and virtuous to king Edward's pious inclinations.

In his laſt years he found that there was little love in the world, and leaſt of all among equals; and that, that which was, is between ſuperiour and inferiour, whoſe fortune may comprehend the one

one the other. To eaſe his minde therefore, Edw. 6.
to ſatisfie his judgement, to obſerve his over-ſight, he adopted ſir William Cholmley, bring-ing him firſt to his houſe, and then to his heart, to ſhew him that impartially, which he could not diſcern in himſelf. *There is no ſuch Flatterer as a man's ſelf; and there is no ſuch remedy againſt Flattery of a man's ſelf as the liberty of a Friend: Counſel is of two ſorts*; (to go on in my author's words) *the one concerning manners, the other concerning buſineſs: for the firſt, the beſt preſervative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a Friend: The calling of a man's ſelf to a ſtrict account, is a medicine ſometime too piercing and corroding; reading good Books of Morality is a little flat and dead; obſerving our faults in others is ſometimes improper for our caſe: but the beſt receipt (beſt I ſay to work, and beſt to take) is the admonition of a Friend.* *

So much ſolid worth he had, that he had no uſe of ambition; ſo much modeſty, that he made little uſe of his worth: mean thoughts he entertained of himſelf, and as mean thoughts did he by his down-caſt though grave look, his ſparing though pertinent diſcourſe, and his ſubmiſſive though regardful carriage, ſuggeſt of himſelf. But a well-manag'd boldneſs is the virtue of monarchick courts, and a diſcreet ſubmiſſion that of a republican; no advantagious admiſſion into the one, without the firſt, nor ſafety in the other, without the ſecond: here, if you are bold, you muſt look for an *Oſtraciſm*; there, if you are modeſt, for *Neglect*: yet a ſober and moderate man may be in faſhion once in an age.

The

* Lord Bacon's eſſayes.

Edw. 6. The ſouldier and the gentleman are the warlike princes darlings; church-men, the religious; phyſicians, the ſickly and old; ſcholars, the learned; exchequerers, the poor, covetous, or prodigal; lawyers, the juſt; and they *of a Healing, Soft and Pliable Temper*, (king James his character and commendation of my lord Bacon) the ſettling and the peaceable, ſuch as Edward the VI. in whoſe reign he was advanced, and queen Elizabeth, in whoſe reign he was reſtored.

It was in purſuance of king Henry's ſtatute, that he cloſed with king Edward's will: for this *Clauſe* he produced for himſelf:

Provided, That if the Lady Mary do not keep nor perform ſuch Conditions, which ſhall be limited and appointed, as aforeſaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs from the King's Body, and the ſaid Lord Prince, lawfully begotten, the ſaid Imperial Crown, and other the Premiſſes, ſhall be, come and remain to ſuch Perſon and Perſons, and of ſuch Eſtate and Eſtates as the King's Highneſs by his Letters Patents ſealed under His Great Seal, or by His laſt Will in Writing, ſigned with His Hand, ſhall limit and appoint.

Iſocrates was a man of an excellent wit, but finding himſelf deſtitute of countenance, geſture and confidence, he never durſt ſpeak in publick, contenting himſelf to teach, even to his decrepit days; and commonly ſaying, *He taught Rhetorique for a thouſand Ryals, but would give more than ten thouſand to him that would teach him confidence:*

This marqueſs brought up many a *Courtier*, yet had not the face to be *One* himſelf, until queen Elizabeth, who balanced her council in point of religion in the beginning of her reign, as ſhe did her court in point of intereſt throughout, threatened him to the council-board firſt, and then to her *Cabinet*; where none more ſecret, to keep counſel; none more faithful, to give it; and more modeſt, to ſubmit. A ſincere, plain, direct man; not crafty nor involved. Edw. 6.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Cheek.

SIR John Cheek, born over againſt the Market-Croſs in Cambridge, became tutor to king Edward the ſixth, and ſecretary of ſtate: not ſo meanly deſcended as ſir John Heyward pretends, (who writes him, *The Son of his own Deſerts)* being a branch of the *Cheeks* of Moſton in the iſle of Wight, (where their eſtate was three hundred pound a year, three hundred years ago, and no more within this thirty years:) happy in his father, Mr. Peter Cheek, whoſe firſt inſtition ſeaſoned him; happier in his good * mother, (that grave matron) whoſe good † counſel and chriſtian charge when he was going to court, ſettled him; and happieſt of all in the place of his Lloyd.

* A Duffeild.

† Recommending to him care of three things: 1. His God. 2. His Soul. 3. His Company.

Edw. 6. his birth, where he fell from his mother's womb to the muſes lap, and *learned* as ſoon as he *lived*, being a ſcholar ſooner than he was a man. A *German* had the care of his younger ſtudies, and a *Frenchman* of his carriage; his parts being too large to be confined to the narrowneſs of Engliſh rules, and too ſprightly to attend the tediouſneſs, and creep by the compaſs of an Engliſh method. The ſame day was he and Mr. Aſcham admitted to St. John's, and the ſame week to court, the one to the tuition of Edward the ſixth, the other of queen Elizabeth: there they were both happy in their maſter doctor Metcalf, who though he could not (as *Themiſtocles* ſaid) *fiddle*, yet he could make a little colledge a great one, and breed ſcholars, though he was none: his advice deterred them from the rough learning of the modern ſchoolmen, and their own genius led them to the more polite ſtudies of the antient orators and hiſtorians; wherein they profited ſo well, that the one was the copious orator, the other the greek profeſſor of that univerſity.

A conteſt began now, between the introducers of the new, and the defenders of the old pronunciation of the greek: the former endeavouring to give each letter, vowel and diphthong its full ſound: whilſt doctor Caius and others of the old ſtamp, cried out againſt his project, and the promoters of it; taxing *It* for novelty, and *Them* for want of experience, and affirming greek itſelf to be barbarous, ſo clowniſhly uttered: and that neither France, Germany nor Italy owned any ſuch pronunciation. John Cheek and Thomas Smith maintained that this was no innovation, but the antient utterance of greek, moſt

clear,

clear, and moſt full. Chancellour Gardiner then interpoſed againſt the pronunciation, and the authors of it: but cuſtom hath ſince prevailed for the uſe of the one, and the due commendation of the other. Edw. 6.

Sir John Cheek's authors were *Iſocrates* and *Thucydides*, his auditors the youngeſt that came thither, for language; and the oldeſt that heard him, for his diſcourſe and policy: the one preferred him to the ample provoſtſhip of *Kings*, the other to the great truſt of Secretary of ſtate; prince Edward ſtudied not his book more ſeduloufly, than he ſtudied him, that his rules might comply with his inclination, and his lectures with his temper: lectures, that were rather diſcourſes inſtilled to him majeſtically, as a prince; than leſſons beaten into him pedantiquely, as a ſchool-boy. The wiſe man would not be debaſing his royal pupil's mind with the nauſeated and low crumbs of a pedant, but ennobling it with the free and high maximes of a ſtateſ-man; ſugaring the more auſtere parts of learning with the pleaſures of poetry, diſcourſe, apologues; and ſo deceiving the royal youth to an improvement before his own years, and others comprehenſion. His very recreations were uſeful, and his *ſeries* of lighter exerciſes (for he obſerved a me[illegible] in them too) a conſtant ſtudy; his table, his ſchool; his meat, his diſcipline: the induſtrious tutor filling up each ſpace of his time with its ſuitable inſtruction; it being his maxime, *That Time and Obſervation were the beſt Maſters, and Exerciſe the beſt Tutor.* While others doated over their rules, his pupils practiſed them; no day paſſing without his letters to the

Edw. 6. king, as that, * *Literæ meæ unum ſemper habent Argumentum (Rex Nobiliſſime & Pater Illuſtriſſime) hoc eſt, in omnibus Epiſtolis ago tibi gratias &c.* or to the queen, as that, † *Quod non adeo jamdiu ſcriberem in cauſa fuit non negligentia, ſed ſtudium; non enim hoc feci ut nunquam omnino ſcriberem, ſed accuratius ſcriberem, &c.* *I have two Tutors*, (ſaid king Edward to Cardan) *Diligence and Moderation, Sir* John Cheek *and Doctor* Coxe. So exact an account he gave prince Edward of his father's kingdome, and its intereſt, that king Henry deſigned him for ſecretary, and king Edward made him one.

Three years he had that place; and in that three years did England more ſervice, ſo great his parts, learning and religion! more kindneſs, ſuch his eminency in both! and gave the people more ſatisfaction, ſuch his integrity and dexterity! than all that went before him, and moſt that came after him. He was the firſt that brought in the uſe of a diary, and his pupil the next that practiſed it: his aphoriſm it was, that a dark and imperfect reflection upon affairs floating in the memory, was like words diſperſed and inſignificant; whereas a compleat view of them in a book, was like the ſame words pointed in a period, and made ſignificant.

Much did the kingdome value him, but more the king: for being once deſperately ſick, the king carefully enquired of him every day:

* One point always influences me when I write (moſt gracious ſovereign and illuſtrious father.) Which is, that in all my letters I return you thanks, &c.

† My not writing ſooner was not the effect of negligence, nor was this done with a deſign not to write at all, but to write more accurately.

laſt his phyſician told him there was no hope for his life, being given over by him for a dead man: *No*, ſaid the king, *he will not die at this time; for this morning I begged his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it.* Which accordingly came to paſs, and he ſoon after, againſt all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This (ſaith doctor Fuller) was atteſted by the old earl of Huntington, (bred up in his childhood with king Edward) to ſir Thomas Cheeke, who *anno* 1654, was alive, and 80 years of age. Edw. 6.

But though his prayers ſaved his tutor's life, none could ſave his; who died with the proteſtant religion in his heart and arms: and ſir John had died with him, but that being outed of all his preferments, he outed himſelf from the kingdome: loving to all the Engliſh exiles at Straſburgh, and well beloved all over Germany: until truſting to the ſtars too much, (would he had not either gone ſo high, or gone a little higher for advice) and his friends too little, he went to meet his dear wife in Brabant; where neither my lord Paget's promiſe, nor ſir John Maſon's pledges, nor abbot Fecknam's interceſſion, could excuſe him from being unhorſed and carted, impriſoned and tortured, vexed with all the arts of power, and perplexed, until his hard uſage meeting with ſome fair promiſes, brought him to a recantation that broke his heart; and after much melancholick ſighing and ſilence, brought him to his grave; the great example of parts and ingenuity, of frailty and infirmity, of repentance and piety. Forced he was to ſit with Bonner in his courts, but forced he would not be to

Edw. 6. joyn with him in his judgment. Look on he did, but weep and groan too.

A good chriſtian he was, witneſs his pious epiſtles; an excellent ſtateſ-man, as appears by his *True Subject to the Rebel*; a book as ſeaſonably republiſhed (by doctor Langbaine of queen's colledge in Oxford) in the excellent king Charles his troubles, as it was at firſt written in the good king Edward's commotions.

Veſpaſian ſaid of *Apollonius*, that *his Gate was open to all Philoſophers, but his Heart to Him*: and ſir John Cheek would ſay to father Latimer, *I have an Ear for other Divines, but I have an Heart for You.*

A country-man in Spain coming to an image enſhrined, the extruction and firſt making whereof he could well remember, and not finding from the ſame that reſpectful uſage which he expected, *You need not* (quoth he) *be ſo proud*; *for we have known you from a Plum-Tree.* Sir John Cheek one day diſcourſing of the pope's threats, ſaid, *He need not be ſo high*; *for we have known him a Chaplain.* He took much delight in that ſaying of *Herod* the ſophiſt, when he was pained with the gout in his hands and feet: *When I would eat*, (ſaid he) *I have no hands*; *when I would go I have no feet: but when I muſt be pained, I have both hands and feet.* Applying it thus: when we would ſerve God, we have no ſoul; when we would ſerve our neighbours, we have no body: but when we ſuffer for neglecting both, we ſhall find we have both a body and ſoul.

Guſtavus Adolphus ſome three days before his death, ſaid, *Our affairs anſwer our deſires: but I doubt*

I doubt God will puniſh me for the folly of my Peo- Edw. 6.
ple, who attribute too much to me, and eſteem me as it were their God; and therefore he will make them ſhortly know and ſee I am but a man: I ſubmit to his will, and I know he will not leave this great Enterpriſe of mine imperfect. Three things ſir John Cheeke obſerved of Edward the ſixth: 1. That the people's eſteem of him would looſe him. 2. That his reformation ſhould be overthrown. 3. That yet it ſhould recover, and be finiſhed.

As to publick councels: 1. Sir John was againſt the war with Scotland, which he ſaid was rather to be united to England, than ſeparated from it. 2. He was againſt king Edward's will, ſaying, *He would never diſtruſt God ſo far in the preſervation of his true Religion, as to diſinherit Orphans, to keep up Proteſtantiſm.* 3. He laid a platform of a war with Spain. 4. He kept neuter in the court-factions. 5. Biſhop Ridley, doctor Coxe, ſeconded; and ſir John Cheeke contrived all king Edward's acts of charity.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wentworth.

SIR Thomas Wentworth of Nettleſted in Suffolk, of a younger family, (confeſſed by the *Creſcent* in his coat) deſcended from the Wentworths of Wentworth-wood-houſe in York-ſhire, and was created baron Went- Lloyd

Edw. 6. " Wentworth by king Henry the viii. He was
" a ſtout and valiant gentleman, a cordial pro-
" teſtant, and his family a ſanctuary of ſuch
" profeſſors; John Bale comparing him to the
" good centurion in the goſpel, and gratefully
" acknowledging him the cauſe of his conver-
" ſion from a *Carmelite*. The memory of this
" good lord is much (but unjuſtly) blemiſhed,
" becauſe Calis was loſt the laſt of queen Mary
" under his government: the manner was hud-
" dled up in our chronicles, (leaſt is beſt of bad
" buſineſs) whereof this is the affect: the Eng-
" liſh being ſecure by reaſon of the laſt conqueſt
" at St. Quintin, and the duke of Guiſe having
" notice thereof, he ſate down before the town
" at the time (not when kings go forth to, but
" return from battle) of mid-winter, even upon
" *New-year's-day*. Next day he took the two
" forts of Riſebank and Newman-bridge,
" (wherein the ſtrength of the city conſiſted) but
" whether they were undermined or overmo-
" neyed, it is not decided, and the laſt left moſt
" ſuſpicious. Within three days the caſtle of
" Calis, which commanded the city, and was
" under the command of ſir Ralph Chamber-
" lain, was taken, the French wading through
" the ditches, (made ſhallower by their artificial
" cut) and then entring the town, were repulſed
" back by ſir Anthony Ager marſhal of Calis,
" the only man, ſaith Stow, who was killed in
" the fight, (underſtand him, of note) others
" for the credit of the buſineſs, accounting four
" ſcore loſt in that ſervice. The French re-
" entring the city the next day, being *Twelfth-*
" *day*, the lord Wentworth deputy thereof
" made

" made but vain reſiſtance, which (alas) was Edw. 6.
" like the wrigling of a worm's tayl after the
" head thereof is cut off; ſo that he was forced
" to take what terms he could get, *viz.* that
" the town's-men ſhould depart (though plun-
" dered to a groat) with their lives, and himſelf
" with [illegible] more, ſuch as the duke of Guiſe
" ſhould chuſe, ſhould remain priſoners to be
" put to ranſome.

" This was the beſt news brought to Paris,
" and worſt to London for many years before:
" it not only abated the queen's chear the rem-
" nant of *Chriſtmas*, but her mirth all the days
" of her life. Yet might ſhe thank her ſelf for
" looſing this key of France, becauſe ſhe hung
" it by her ſide with ſo ſlender a ſtring, there be-
" ing but five hundred ſouldiers effectually in
" the garriſon; too few to manage ſuch a piece
" of importance. The lord Wentworth the ſe-
" cond of June following, was ſolemnly con-
" demned for treaſon, though unheard, as ab-
" ſent in France: which was not only againſt
" chriſtian charity, but *Roman* juſtice; *Feſtus*
" confeſſing it was not faſhionable among them
" to deliver any man to die, before he which is
" accuſed have the accuſers face to face, and
" have licence to anſwer for himſelf concerning
" the crime laid againſt him. It was well for
" this lord that he was detained in France till
" his ranſome was paid, and queen Mary dead,
" who otherwiſe probably had loſt his life, if he
" had had his liberty. But queen Elizabeth com-
" ing to the crown, he found the favour, or rather
" had the juſtice to be tryed again, and was ac-
" quitted by his peers; finding it no treachery,

cowar-

Edw. 6. " cowardiſe, or careleſsneſs in him, but in ſir
" John Harlſton, and ſir Ralph Chamberlain,
" the one governour of Riſebank, the other of
" Calais-caſtle: for which they were both con-
" demned to die, though their judgment was
" remitted. This lord was the only perſon I
" have read of, who thus in a man's played
" rubbers, when his head lay at ſtake; and
" having loſt the fore, recovered the after-game.
" He died a very aged man, 1594. Thus far
" Mr. Fuller.

Two ways a courtier advanceth himſelf: the firſt, that more leiſurely, ſlow, though ſure, of watching offices, preferments and dignities that may by ſteps bring them to the king's preſence; the ſecond, that more quick and ſhort, but moſt *practiſed*, of following the court for ſuch extraordinary commiſſions and particular ſervices to the empire, as may (without the danger of delays that muſt be fatal amidſt ſo many competitors) recommend him to his favour. It was below ſir Thomas his eſtate to ſtoop to that firſt method; it ſuited more with his activity to embrace the ſecond. Two uſually-inconſiſtent qualities he had, the cloſeneſs of an agent, and the valour of a ſouldier. To Rome he was ſent in diſguiſe, and to Treport with an army: ſo graceful his carriage, ſo inſinuating his affability, ſo clear and well-weighed his diſcourſe, ſo ſearching and comprehenſive his judgment; ſo gravely aiery, ſo majeſtically pleaſant his countenance, ſo becoming his gate and apparel, ſo watchful his negotiations, ſo winning his addreſſes, ſo diſcreetly ſmart his reparties, (darting a ſuddain luſtre and vigour

vigour to the darkneſs and heavineſs of his graver Edw. 6.
diſcourſes, neither common nor unſavoury, neither affected nor far-fetched, neither abuſive of others, nor miſ-becoming himſelf) ſo diſcreet and well-managed his complaiſance, (with reference to circumſtances, perſon, place, time, matter and ſtile) that he had cardinal Senhault's ſecretary, to bring him to the pope's cloſet; the emperour's agent Randolphus, to introduce him to court; that he won fryar Paul, to ſhew him the myſteries of the church; engineer Palvino, to repreſent the pope's cities, towns, fortifications, havens, harbours, antiquities, ſeminaries, exerciſes, ſhips, treaſure, armories, arſenals, magazines, (having always by him a card of the territories) and the pope's bed-chamber-man, to ſhew him all the papers and tranſactions that concerned Henry the eighth. So well experienced his conduct, ſo well diſciplined his army, ſo watchful and induſtrious his nature, ſo good his pay, (though he pawned, an once in Normandy, his own eſtate to ſatisfie his ſouldiers) ſo noble his rewards of valour and ſervice, (it being his rule, that every man ſhould enjoy as much as he could conquer) ſo prevalent his example, that he did more with 2000 men in three monthes, than the duke of Suffolk had done with 8000 in three years. The duncery and idleneſs of the monks in his time, (as he writes himſelf) made *Eraſmus* a ſtudent: the ſloth and careleſneſs of commanders in ſir Thomas his time, made him a ſouldier.

Edward the third of England having ſent to France to demand the crown by maternal right, the council there ſent him word, *That the Crown*

of

Edw. 6. *of France was not tied to a Diſtaff.* To which he replyed, *That then he would tie it to his Sword.* Sir Thomas Wentworth demanding Normandy in right of the dukes thereof, kings of England, was told, *That Dukedomes were never given away in France by the Wills of the Dead: Nay then,* replyed he, *we will have them againſt the Wills of the Living.*

It's written of our Henry the fifth, that he had ſomething of *Cæſar* in him, which *Alexander* the great had not, that he would not be *Drunk*; and ſomething of *Alexander* the great, which *Cæſar* had not, that he would not be *Flattered*: ſir Thomas had both their virtues, none of their vices; *Non tam extra Vitia, quam cum ſummis Virtutibus.* Though he could not avoid misfortune, and *proſper*: yet he could yield to it, and *retire*: (that experienced file that could not withſtand the enemies ſhot, could *fall down* and *eſcape* it.) Privacy at once ſecured and ſupported this unfortunate gentleman: it is much to know how to lead and bring on ſucceſsfully; it's more to retreat, and come off handſomely, and give over a bad game.

Since he heard *ill*, I hear no more of him but this: one being deſigned an agent, waited upon this knowing and experienced lord for ſome directions for his conduct and carriage; he delivereth himſelf (ſaith my author) thus: *To ſecure your ſelf, and ſerve your Country, you muſt at all times, and upon all occaſions, ſpeak truth: for* (as he added) *you will never be believed; and by this means your truth will ſecure your ſelf if you be queſtioned, and put thoſe you deal with (who will ſtill hunt counter) to a loſs in all their diſquiſitions and undertakings.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Clement Paſton.

SIR Clement Paſton was a ſouldier, and a ſouldier's ſon; valour running in the blood for three generations, and maturated by noble and heroick actions for glory and ſucceſs. Deſigned he was by his friends for the gown, but by his own nature for armour: born for action rather than contemplation. When his father aſked him *what he would deſire of him*, he deſired a horſe and a ſword. He was tried in the king of France his ſervice in Henry the ſeventh's time, for his overthrow in Henry the eighth's. He was the firſt that made the Engliſh navy terrible, and the laſt that made our army ſo: he took the admiral of France: and ſaved him of England: 30000 crowns he received by way of ranſome from the firſt, and 1000 *l.* by way of gratitude from the other: a cup he would ſhew that the firſt gave him every holy-day, and a ring of the ſecond's every *Chriſtmas*. Lloyd.

Two kings made uſe of his perſon, and two queens of his counſel, which he gave even on his death-bed. His advice was ſhort, but reſolute; his words few but pertinent: his diſcourſe commanding, and ſouldier-like: his word, the decree of the *Medes*. King Henry the eighth called him *His Champion*: the protector, in Edward the ſixth's time, *His Souldier*; queen Mary, *Her*

Edw. 6. *Her Sea-Man*; and queen Elizabeth, *Her Father*. When Wyat was overthrown, he would deliver himſelf up to a gentleman, and therefore only to ſir Clement Paſton.

The two great intereſts of ſouldiers are pay and honour: he mortgaged his eſtate twice to ſatisfie them for the one; and pawned his credit at court often, to encourage them for the other; getting his commanders always power and authority enough to do their maſter's buſineſs, but never enough to do their own.

There being always a conteſt between the populacy and the ſouldiers, ("whom nothing reconciles, but downright force and neceſſity) it was death to his followers to be irregular, becauſe one of their miſcarriages exaſperates a million, and diſtaſtes a kingdom; ſo neceſſary is a ſtrict diſcipline in the camp, and an impartial juſtice in the countrey.

Outward occaſions help fortune, a man's own temper makes it, when there be, as my lord Bacon writes, no ſtops or reſtiveneſs in a man's mind, but that the wheels of that keeps even with thoſe of fortune. Sir Clement and Cato Major were both of a make, both having * *tantum robur corporis & animi, ut, quocunque loco nati eſſent, fortunam ſibi facturi viderentur.*

Obſer-

* So great a ſtrength of body and mind, that in what country ſoever they had been born, they would have made their own fortunes.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Rich.

HE muſt needs be preferred, who was ſo richly deſcended and nobly allied, as to ſhew at court upon his firſt appearance ſixty noblemen and knights of his relation, and a hundred and fifty thouſand pound a year revenue among his friends. He was more beholden to the temple for his law, than to the univerſities for his learning. His ſevere and active nature aſpiring above the pedantiqueneſs of a ſcholar, to the uſefulneſs of a ſtateſ-man: *I could never endure* (ſaith he) *thoſe ſtudies that furniſh me only with unactive thoughts and uſeleſs diſcourſe, that teach me only to think and ſpeak.* Lloyd.

His ſtaid and ſolid parts commended him to Cromwel, and Cromwel recommended him to king Henry the eighth: he was ſolicitor-general to his majeſty, and ſteward to his maſter: Cromwel was the *Mawl*, and Rich the *Hammer* of Abbeys: he laid open to the monks their faults, and his maſter made uſe of it to force them to a ſurrendry: for as he ſaid, when thoſe religious ſocieties ſaw they had faults enough diſcovered to take away their lands, they had wit enough to give them up. His councels overthrew popery, and his depoſition cut off ſir Thomas More: for being ſent to ſir Thomas, after much diſcourſe with him, he aſked him this ſubtle queſtion,

Whe-

Edw. 6. *Whether he would acknowledge the King Supream Head, if it were enjoyned by an Act of Parliament?* ſir Thomas aſked him again, *If the Parliament enacted that God ſhould not be Lord, whether he ſhould conſent to it?* and thoſe words undid him. He ſaw that the proteſtant religion was the intereſt of England, as well as the doctrine of ſcripture; and therefore he carried it on in point of policy, as archbiſhop Cranmer did in point of conſcience. King Henry the eighth admired his diſtinct reaſoning, and ſtayed judgment: and queen Anne Bullen was taken with his graceful eloquence, and ingenious diſcourſes: in the morning his plyant ſoul, that could anſwer all the turnings and windings of buſineſs, was as reſerved and ſolid as that of a demure ſtateſ-man; in the evening, as chearful and merry as that of a debonair courtier. He was the wiſdome of the court in the preſence, and its wit in the cloſet; its oracle there, and its pleaſure here.

King Henry the eighth made him one of his legators, and king Edward the ſixth one of his council: under him he carried on the proteſtant religion in point of conſcience, which others managed in point of intereſt. He deſigned the degrees of the reformation, and he ſet out its method, than whom none more zealous in things neceſſary, none more moderate in things indifferent. Active he was, but wary; ſtirring, but cautious. To him the reformers reſorted in point of law, as to Cranmer and Ridley in point of religion. Such his prudence, that the protector made him his friend; ſuch his integrity, that the king made him chancellour; where his decreees were juſt, his diſpatches quick, his judg-

judgments ſpeedy, his ſums of debates full and ſatisfactory, his ſentences irreverſible; his aſſiſtants in the rolls, and other courts, able and honeſt. None more complyant to reaſon, none more ſtiff in things againſt reaſon: he would do any thing for king Edward the ſixth's intereſt, nothing for duke Dudley's ambition; therefore he obſerving the courſe of affairs, would rather reſign his place, than his integrity: when he could not with a ſafe conſcience keep it, he with a contented mind parted with it; being honoured with the barony of Leez, and enriched with the weſtern abbies; it being the prudence of that time to intereſt the nobility in the papal revenues, that ſo they might be engaged againſt the authority. Edw. 6.

R. Rich, lord chancellour, (ſaith my author) then living in Great St. Bartholomew's, though outwardly concurring with the reſt, began now ſecretly to favour the duke of Somerſet, and ſent him a letter, therein acquainting him with all paſſages at the council-board, ſubſcribing the ſame (either out of haſt or familiarity) with no other direction ſave *To the Duke*; enjoyning his ſervant, a new attendant, as newly entered into his family, ſafely to deliver it. The man made more haſt than good ſpeed; and his lord wondring at his quick return, demanded of him where the duke was when he delivered him the letter? *In the Charter-Houſe*, (ſaid the ſervant) *on the ſame token that he read it at the Window, and ſmiled thereat.* But the lord Rich ſmiled not at the relation, as ſadly ſenſible of the miſtake, and delivery of the letter to the duke of Norfolk, no great

Edw. 6. great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the duke of Somerſet.

Wonder not if this lord roſe early up the next morning, who may be preſumed not to have ſlept all night: * he higheth to the court; and having gotten admittance into the bed-chamber before the king was up, fell down on his knees, and deſiring that his old age might be eaſed of his burthenſome office; pleading that there ought to be ſome preparatory intervals in ſtateſ-men between their temporal buſineſs and their death: in order to which, he deſired to retire to Eſſex, there to attend his own devotions. Nor would he riſe from the ground till the king had granted his requeſt. And thus he ſaved himſelf from being ſtripped by others, by firſt pulling off his own cloaths, who otherwiſe had loſt his chancellour's place for revealing the ſecrets of the council-board.

There are few places ſo impregnable, but nature hath left in them ſome place or other by which they may be taken: none being armed at all points ſo well, but there is ſome way left whereby he may be ſurprized. He is the ſtrongeſt that hath feweſt acceſſes. He was a wiſe man that ſaid, *Delay* hath undone many for the other world, *Haſt* hath undone more for this, *Time* well managed ſaves all in both.

But there is a wheel in things, which undoeth all thoſe that have not a wheel that anſwereth it in their ſouls; I mean a great capacity to comply and cloſe with thoſe grand viciſſitudes that with ſmall and unobſerved circumſtances turn round the

* This ſtory is related from the mouth of his grandchild the earl of Warwick, that laſt was.

the world, which this great man was maſter of, who had his eye upon the turns, flexures and points of things and buſineſs, and his ſtate and intereſt ready to correſpond: he knew when to proceed, when to make a ſtand, and when to retire. It's ſaid of grandees, *That they are the laſt that find their own Griefs, and the laſt that find their Faults.* Our lord was quick in both, and hath taught us this, *That certainly Men of great fortunes are ſtrangers to themſelves, and while they are in the puzzle of buſineſs have no time to tend the welfare either of Body or Soul; and that they muſt with-draw from this World, before they retire into another:* For, *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur ſibi.* Edw. 6.

There are no more remarques of this noble perſonage, than that he was the father of this apophthegme, *Well done, if warily*; and great-grandfather to the preſent earl of Warwick.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Maſon.

HE had his birth at Abingdon, and his education at Oxford: his birth commanding him to *All-Souls*, and his breeding to the court: his ſtudy was like his inclination, rather active than contemplative, his preſent thoughts foreſeeing and providing for his future employments. But induſtry and parts may pre- Lloyd.

Edw. 6. pare a man, it is opportunity and occaſion that muſt advance him; and never had a man a fairer opportunity, never made a man better uſe of it.

None but Mr. Maſon would the univerſity pitch upon, to compliment Henry the eighth; none but Mr. Maſon could pleaſe him, although he was as great a *Scholar* as he was a *King*, and as much an humoriſt as both: as he was inclined, ſo he ſtudied; as he ſtudied, ſo he writ; not with a pedant's impertinence, but a ſtateſ-man's prudence: ſo elegant was his latine, that a critick would have advanced him profeſſor; ſo various his learning, that Cranmer would have prefer'd him prebend; and yet ſo grave and wiſe the matter and compoſure of his ſpeech, that the king deſigned him a ſtateſ-man.

When king Henry the eighth came to Oxford, ſir John is deputed to congratulate his coming: who conſidering that a man cannot every day ſpeak to kings, contrived (ſaith my author) the matter of his ſpeech moſt man-like, politick and pertinent, the phraſe of it polite and majeſtick; ſo that what with his comely preſence, his becoming carriage, his flowing expreſſion, his graceful elocution, he gained that applauſe from the court and univerſity, that the one was as eager to have him, as the other was loth to part with him: the univerſity was proud of him, but king Henry commanded him, and diſpoſeth of him in forein parts, to add practical experience to his ſpeculative ſtudies: it was the excellent way of that time, to pick out the choice youths of both univerſities, and maintain them ſome years

years abroad, to make ſuch obſervations as Edw. 6.
might render them ſerviceable at home.

Dwelt with books he had long enough, now he muſt converſe with men, and open his recluſe and retired ſoul, to a practicable and ſocial temper, by debonairneſs and freedom, too long mewed up with ſtudy and melancholy: think and ſpeak he could very well already, now he muſt learn to act and live: books furniſhed, travel muſt enlarge and ſettle his ſoul.

Four things made a ſtateſ-man in thoſe days.

1. The univerſity and good letters.
2. The city and converſe.
3. The court and freedom of ſpirit.
4. Travel and obſervation.

It was the politick Diſcipline of thoſe days to ſelect (ſaith mine author) *the pregnancies of either Univerſity, and breed them in Forein parts for publick Employments.* Agreeable whereunto, Mr. Maſon is ſent beyond ſea with inſtructions to guide him, and a penſion to ſupport him: with order,

1. To keep exact correſpondence with the ſecretary at home.

2. To entertain, 1. The moſt eminent ſcholar, who might repreſent the church: 2. The ripeſt under-ſecretary, who might decipher to him the ſtate: 3. The ableſt ſouldier and ſea-man, that might open to him the intereſt of both nations.

3. To take an exact account of the havens, forts, cities, avenues, paſſages, ways, treaſure and intereſt of the place he lives in.

4. To follow the reſpective embaſſadors directions in every court.

Edw. 6. 5. To appear in each place upon any ſolemnity, civil or military, ſuitable to the occaſion, all charges to be defrayed from the Engliſh exchequer.

His penſion was two hundred and twenty pounds a year; his circuit was France, the Netherlands and Italy; his commiſſion was to engage any knowing perſon of thoſe reſpective courts, that could tranſcribe their edicts or orders, give exact intelligence, make any intereſt, or had any influence upon their reſpective governments: his rules were,

1. To correſpond with his majeſties agents.
2. To have few and choice acquaintance.
3. To make collections of, and obſervations upon the hiſtories, the laws, cuſtoms, and the moſt conſiderable ſtateſ-men, governours, and great men, with their relations and dependencies in thoſe courts.
4. To give a monethly account of ſuch remarques as occurred, at large to the ſecretary, and in brief to the king and cardinal.

His firſt undertaking was in France, where his gravity was too ſevere, beyond the dalliances of that place. His next was to Italy, where he ſhewed as great a reach in countermining, as the inhabitants of that place do in managing their plots: *None deſigns* (ſaith the character) *further off than the Italian: None ſeeth* (ſaid ſir Thomas Audley) *further off than ſir* John Maſon. His laſt voyage was to Spain, where he out-*grav'd* the *Don* himſelf, and then returned with the Italians *quickneſs*, the Spaniards *ſtaidneſs*, the Frenchman's *Ayr*, the German's *Reſolution*, and the Dutchman's *Induſtry*: qualities that demonſtrated

ſtrated he underſtood other countreys, and could Edw. 6.
ſerve his own.

There this pregnant gentleman being at ſome diſtance, could look more inwardly into the conſtitution, ſituation, intereſt, ſtate and complexion of his own Country; and being near, could diſcern thoſe of other parts with the mutual aſpect of England upon them, and theirs upon it. They that lived in thoſe times ſay that none underſtood the affairs of England and France, together with their mutual advantages or diſadvantages, better than ſir John Maſon.

He that had ſeen the myſteries of four courts, might be truſted with thoſe of one, as he was in king Henry the eighth's time, in the capacity of a privy counſellour; and in Edward the ſixth's, in the truſt of chief ſecretary. At the board, none clearer in his propoſals; in his office, none quicker for diſpatch: *Let me hear Sir John Maſon*, ſaid the king; *Let us to ſir John Maſon*, ſaid the ſubjects: ſo much the reputation of his prudent integrity with the one, and of his familiar acceſs with the other!

Four things he ſaid kept him in, under all the revolutions, during the four princes reigns whom he ſerved:

1. That he thought few things would ſave a man.

2. That he was always intimate with the exacteſt lawyer, and ableſt favourite.

3. That he ſpake little, and writ leſs.

4. That he had attained to ſomething which each party eſteemed ſerviceable to them, and was ſo moderate, that all thought him their own.

Edw. 6. When a compleat man, he was called home, to be firſt clerk of the council, a place of great truſt; ſecondly, ſecretary of State, a place of great employment; thirdly, maſter of the requeſts, an office of great diſpatch and buſineſs; and fourthly, treaſurer of the houſhold, an employment of conſtant care.

No age wanted an able man more, no age had one more willing to ſecure the univerſities, than that which choſe him to be chancellour of Oxford, at the ſame time that his prince made him treaſurer of the houſhold. Sacriledge it ſelf then gaping after the Univerſity-lands, durſt not tempt ſo honeſt a man, nor perſwade ſo great a ſcholar, nor fright ſo reſolute a ſtateſman to betray or yield up thoſe ancient encouragements of learning and virtue. Loth was Oxford to part with him when a ſcholar, glad to entertain him a ſtateſ-man, with a power to protect her, well tempered with obligations to love her; he who is now the *Father* being lately the *Son*; maintained by a part of it, as he now maintained the whole. That was a ſcrambling time, when it was *catch who catch can.* I find not any particular favour conferred, or benefaction beſtowed by him in perſon on the univerſity; but this great good he did, that his greatneſs kept others from doing any harm. Many hungry courtiers had hopes to catch fiſh, (and fiſh it would be, whatever came into their nets) on this turning of the tide, and alteration of religion: how eaſie was it for covetouſneſs in thoſe times to quarrel the colledge-lands into ſuperſtition! ſacriledge ſtood ready to knock at their gates; and alas! 'twas paſt their porter's power to forbid

bid it entrance, had not ſir John Maſon vigo- Edw. 6.
rouſly oppoſed it, and aſſiſted the univerſity on all occaſions.

He inciteth them to the ſtudy of the tongues; becauſe * *ſenſum alicujus rei non poteſt ille aſſequi, qui rudis eſt Idiomatis quo traditur:* and directed the reading of *Ariſtole*, *Agricola*, *Melanćthon*, &c. inſtead of *Scotus*, *Burleus*, *Bricot:* calling for all their charters, donations, ſtatutes, pope's bulls, with an exact rental of their lands, and inventory of their goods, which were reſtored entire and ſafe.

The univerſity, that could not enjoy his preſence, craves his protection; and foreſeeing in the fall of abbeys, their danger, eſpecially when foundations erected for ſuperſtition were given by ſtatute to the king, choſe ſir John Maſon their chancellour, who was at once a favourite of power and of learning; the greateſt lay-ſtateſman that was a ſcholar, and the greateſt ſcholar that was a lay-ſtateſman: he was not contented to ſecure, but he muſt improve Oxford, gaining it new priviledges, when it feared the loſs of its old ones.

A grave and reſerved man he was, who underſtood the intrigues and motions of thoſe dark and uncertain times, and his nimble and preſent prudence could accommodate them. His maxime was, *Do, and ſay nothing:* commending the active and cloſe man, whoſe performances were as private, coherent, continued and ſuddain as his councels; who would not ſpend that time in adviſing, that would ſerve for executing: many were

* He cannot attain to the ſenſe of any thing, who is ignorant of the language in which it is treated of.

Edw. 6. were his penſions to ſcholars at home, more to agents abroad that aſſiſted either his ſtudies or employments, whom he deſigned an honour to his middle, and a ſupport to his old age. He had a peculiar way of ſatisfying ſuiters by plain dealing and diſpatch: he would divide all ſuits either into matter of equity, or a ſuit of controverſie; or into matter of deſert, or a ſuit of petition: in the firſt he had his referendaries, to ſee the matter compounded between both parties, rather than carried by either: in the ſecond, he preferred all ſuitably to their abilities. No man underſtood better the nature of court-places than he, and none ſaw further into court-perſons.

Two things, he ſaid, always promoted a matter:

1. Secreſie: (boaſting, which is the way of ſome courtiers, though it diſcourageth ſome competitors, yet it awakeneth others.)

2. Timing of it, with an eye to thoſe about us.

He would adviſe a man to begin with a little and mean ſuit: for though (as my lord Bacon obſerves) *iniquum pĕtas & æquum feras*, is a good rule, where a man hath ſtrength of favour; yet otherwiſe a man had better riſe in his ſuit: for he that would have ventured at firſt to have loſt his *Suitor*, will not in the concluſion loſe both the *Suitor* and his own former favour.

It's from him, while he lived, that we learned celerity is the beſt ſecreſie; prudence and reſolution is the only fortune; converſe is the great education; boldneſs a man's ſureſt ſucceſs; good nature is the eminent nobility; and a well-weighed honeſty the only favourite.

It's

It's by him, when he died, we are taught that moderation out-laſts violence, modeſty ambition, a publick ſpirit a private one: that to act alone may be as profitable as honourable, but to joyn with others moſt ſafe: that to ſtudy the nature of a prince, may for the preſent advance; but to underſtand the intereſt of his kingdom, is always ſecure: the one way being as uncertain as the frail perſon it depends upon, the other as ſure as the laſting ſtate it ſerves. Edw. 6.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Stamford.

SIR William Stamford was of Staffordian extraction; Robert his grand-father living at Rowley in that county; but William his father was a merchant in London, and purchaſed lands at Hadley in Middleſex, where ſir William was born, Auguſt 22, 1509. He was bred to the ſtudy of our municipal laws; attaining ſo much eminence therein, that he was preferred one of the judges of the common pleas. His moſt learned book of *The Pleas of the Crown*, hath made him for ever famous amongſt men of his own profeſſion. There is a ſpirit of retraction of one to his native county, which made him purchaſe lands, and his ſon ſettle himſelf in Staffordſhire. This worthy judge died Aug. 28, and was buried at Hadley in this ſhire, in the laſt year of the reign of queen Mary, 1558. Lloyd.

King

Edw. 6. King James had a judge that would give no money, and king Henry had one that would take none. "There have been thoſe lawyers that "turned the point of law upon the law itſelf; "that wounded the eagle with a feather from "his own wing, and ſtabbed the perſon of prin- "ces with their authority; that dethroned kings "with a moot-point, and overthrowed a go- "vernment at a reading." This judge underſtood, that as the law is the ſecurity of the people, ſo prerogative is the ſtrength of the law; and that that is the beſt temper of government where kings have ſo much power to do evil, that they may be able to do good.

Miſerable experience hath taught us, that ſince power hath been wreſted from princes, that neither they nor their people can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the law hath entruſted the publick ſafety and welfare; which conſiſts in a full power belonging to the king, to ſecure liberties, preſerve property, and protect their people in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe laws to which themſelves have conſented. He ſets himſelf good rules, as well to create good preſidents, as to follow them; reducing things to their firſt inſtitution, and obſerving wherein and how they have degenerated: yet ſtill taking counſel of both times: of the ancienter time, what is beſt; and of the latter, what is fitteſt. He made his courſe regular, that men might know what to expect; but not peremptory, that knaves might not know how to impoſe upon him: always expreſſing himſelf well, when he digreſſed from his rule. Preſerve the right of his place he would,

would, but not ſtir queſtions of juriſdictions; Edw. 6.
rather aſſuming his right in ſilence, and *de facto*, then voice it with claims and challenges. He directed in moſt affairs, but was buſie in none: none readier to give, none readier to take helps and advices. His ſpeech was more diſcreet than eloquent; rather particularly ſuitable to the preſent things and perſons, than generally orderly and artificial. He could ſpeak quick and deep too, never uſing many circumſtances, leſt he were tedious; ever ſome, leſt he were blunt: ſo warily did he deliver what he knew, that he was ſometimes thought to know what he did not. He knew what *might* be ſaid, ſo good his fancy; and he knew what *ſhould* be thought, ſo great his judgment: commanding the diſcourſe where-ever he was, by that prudence that could bring it on and off; and that variety that happily intermingled arguments with tales, reaſons with opinions, and earneſt with jeſt. His decrees were the hedges of propriety, his diſpatches cool, his caſes rightly ſtated; his reports ſavour of integrity and prudence, of books and men. How diſcreetly would he moderate the rigorous circumſtances of petty and pænal laws! How exactly obſerve the deſign and drift of the more fundamental and reaſonable! Here no intrigues to perplex, no attendance to tire, no hazards to diſcourage, no checks or delays to vex, no ſurreptitious advantages to ſurprize; no defeats of hopes, or falſeneſs of friends to diſappoint; no negligence of agents, or intereſt of parties to betray; no oratory or ſophiſm to varniſh or hide a matter: all things clear as juſtice, and ſmooth as integrity.

By

Edw. 6. By diligence and moderation; with their gentle degrees and augmentations, and his own watchful obſervance he climbed to excellency. A man is neither good, nor rich, nor wiſe at once; it being a double work to be great: 1. To remove obſtruction, and accommodate adverſaries: 2. To watch and aſſume the advantage. What is longeſt in proving, is longeſt declining: the roſe that buds one day, withereth the next: the oak that is an age a growing, is five ſtanding. He had thoſe lower virtues that drew praiſe from the vulgar, which he neglected, (knowing that they were more taken with appearances than realities) he had middle that they admired, and good men obſerved; he had his higheſt virtues, which they perceived, and great men honoured: In a word, a fragrant fume he had, that filled all round about, and would not eaſily away. Although he deſpiſed the flatterers praiſe, as baſe; and avoided the cunnings, as dangerous; yet he would ſay of a deſerved fame, that being nothing, or but ayr at beſt, it doth all: for it's ſufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on ſubſtance.

He obſerved of himſelf, that he came very hardly to little riches, and very eaſily to great riches: for when a man's ſtock is come to that, as my lord Verulam obſerves, that he can expect the prime of the markets, and overcome thoſe bargains which for their greatneſs are few men's money, and be partners in the induſtries of younger men, he cannot but mainly increaſe with thoſe two advancers of gain, 1. diligence; and 2. a good name.

He

He hath left theſe two principles behind him for thoſe of his own profeſſion. Edw. 6.

1. That they ſhould reduce every ſtatute to the common law and cuſtome whereon it is grounded.

2. That they ſhould as well look into the hiſtory of former times for the reaſons and circumſtances of our laws, as into their law-books for the matter of them.

Some lawyers aſſert the ſubjects liberty, and retrench the prerogative (as too much power to be truſted for a mortal man) within the known limits of law, that ſo ſubjects may be at a certainty how to ſquare their loyalty and obedience. He always upheld that prerogative, ſaying, *That the diſcretion of the ſceptre as guardian for the general good of the common-wealth, muſt be truſted againſt all emergencies, with the management of its own might:* concluding always thus; *ſubmiſſion is our duty, and confidence our prudence.* Biſhop *Bancroft of Oxford* ſaid in king Charles the firſt his time, * *Eo tempore occubui quo mallem epiſcopatus rationem coram Deo dare, quam Epiſcopatum coram hominibus exercere.* Judge Stamford ſaid in queen Mary's time, † *In quæ reſervamur tempora! det Deus ut magiſtratus rationem coram eo reddam potius quam magiſtratum coram hominibus exerceam.*

His book containeth two parts; one of *the pleas of the crown*, the other of *the king's prerogative.*

* I fell in that time, at which I choſe rather to render an account of my office before God, than exerciſe the office of biſhop before men.

† To what times are we reſerved! God grant, that I may render a faithful account of my office before him, rather than exerciſe it before men.

Edw. 6. *gative.* In him (ſaith Mr. Fulbeck) there is force and weight, and no common kind of ſtile; in matter very few have gone beyond him, in method none have overtaken him: in the order of his writing he is ſmooth, yet ſharp; pleaſant, yet grave: and ſurely his method may be a law to the writers that ſucceed him. Heavy ſaith he is the weight of innocent blood, conſider we either the inward fears attending the guilt of it; or the outward providence of God watching for the diſcovery of it; one that was before him, having apprehended a fiſhes head in the platter, for the head of him whom he had murdered; and another, after a horrid murther, being obſerved to have his hand continually upon his dagger.---

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Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Jeffrey.

Lloyd. SIr John Jeffery was born in Suſſex, where he left behind him a fair eſtate to his daughter. He ſo profited in the ſtudy of our municipal law, that he was preferred ſecondary judge of the common pleas, and thence advanced by queen Elizabeth, in Michaelmas-term, the nineteenth of her reign, to be lord chief baron of the exchequer: which place he diſcharged for the term of two years, to his great commendation. He left one daughter and heir, married to ſir Edward Montague, (ſince baron of Boughton) by whom he

he had but one daughter, Elizabeth, married to Robert Barty, earl of Lindſey, mother to the truly honourable Montague earl of Lindſey, and lord great chamberlain of England. This worthy judge died in the 21. of queen Elizabeth. Edw. 6.

This was he who was called the Plodding Student, whoſe induſtry perfected nature, and was perfected by experience. He read not to argue only; for that is vanity: nor to believe and truſt; for that is eaſineſs; nor to diſcourſe; for that is idle: but to weigh and conſider; for that is prudence. He had his ſtudies for pleaſure and privacy, for ornament and converſe, and for judgment and buſineſs. To ſpend too much time on his book, was ſloth; to talk by book, was affected; and to act by it, was humourſome and ſcholar-like.

Four things he would ſay helped him.

1. His inclination: *(It's a great happineſs to a man* (ſaith Ariſtotle) *when his calling is one of the* τὰ οἰκεῖα τῇ φύσει, *of thoſe things that agree with his nature.)*

2. Method.

3. Religion, with that juſt and compoſed mind that attends it.

4. A great happineſs in all the four faculties that make a lawyer: 1. A ſharp invention, and clear apprehenſion to ſearch all the circumſtances of a caſe propounded. 2. Judgment to examine and weigh the particulars invented and apprehended: for truth lieth in things as gold in mines. 3. Memory to retain what is judged and examined. 4. A prompt and ready delivery of what is conceived and retained, ſet out with ingenuity

Edw. 6. nuity and gravity. * *Oratio prompta non audax.* What hé ſaid was cloſe and pinching, and not confident and earneſt; allowing paſſion not to *diſturb* either the method or delivery of his diſcourſe, but to quicken it. To ſpeak well and much, he ſaid, was not the work of one man: yet if a philoſopher be eloquent, ſaid Cicero, we muſt not deſpiſe him; if he be not, he muſt not affect it, ſo that he can comprehend in words what he conceiveth, and ſpeak them plainly, that he may be underſtood. His Latine and French were grammatical, his rhetorick natural, his logic reaſon: the firſt, opened the terms; the ſecond, preſſed the vigour; the laſt, collected and diſpoſed of the axiomes, grounds, and rules of the law, and all prepared him for that comprehenſive profeſſion, in the aſhes whereof the ſparks of all other ſciences were raked up.

His geſture and habit was grave, but not affected: ſpeaking as much to the eye, as his tongue did to the ear: (the geſture being a great diſcoverer of the conſtitution, and a great direction to buſineſs: what a man miſſeth in the ſpeech, he may ſometimes find in the looks.) His temper was moderate and ſober; a virtue, and a ſeaſoning of all others, attended with the lawyers gift, and that is patience. Modeſt he was, but not fondly baſhful; his prudence and not his ſoftneſs. His humility begat affableneſs; his affableneſs, ſociety; that, conference; conference, parts, and they acquaintance; and that, practice; and practice, experience; experience, renown; and that, preferment.

Sir

* A pointed not an inſolent ſpeech.

Sir John's inclination was ſtudious; his mind, Edw. 6.
conſtant, ſolid, and ſettled, and able to dive into the whirl-pools of that intricate and perplexed faculty; his thoughts being *orderly*, and his conceptions *methodical*: his ſearch comprehenſive, avoiding epitomes, as the banes of learning. * *Nullus illi per otium dies exit, partem noctium ſtudiis vindicat; non vacat ſomno, ſed ſuccumbit, & oculos vigilia fatigatos cadenteſq; in opera detinet.*

Conſiderable were the parts he had, but more ſo the making up of thoſe he had not: his covering of his defects being of no leſs importance than the valuing of good parts, which he did three ways:

1. By caution, ingeniouſly and diſcreetly waving and putting off things improper.

2. By colour, making his Defects his virtues, and his faults his endowments. And,

3. By that freedom of ſpirit that daunts the weakeſt, and prevaileth with the wiſeſt.

He propoſed to himſelf five things to enquire into, in order to that compleatneſs he arrived unto:

1. The ancient maxims and principles, or the more ancient cuſtoms that make up the common law of England.

2. The acts and conſtitutions that make up its ſtatute-law.

3. The particular privileges, liberties, immunities and uſages of counties, burroughs, cities, &c. that do ſwerve from this law.

* No day was ſpent in idleneſs, and part of the nights in ſtudy: if he ſlept, it was only to refreſh nature, wearied out with continual toils and watchings.

Edw. 6. 4. The ancient grounds and reaſons (as far as hiſtory can direct) of all theſe: our law being an exact reaſon.

5. The moſt ſatisfactory explanations of the law: 1. From Commentaries, as Bractons: 2. abridgments, as Stathams: 3. Hiſtory, as the years and terms of the common law: And 4. from more particular tracts, that handled their peculiar ſubjects, as Forteſcue, Glanvil, Britton, Fleta, Littleton, which he thought not unprofitable to read, though dangerous to rely upon: (with the lord Cooke, not liking thoſe that ſtuff their mindes with wandering and maſterleſs reports: for, as he ſaid, they ſhall find them too ſoon to lead them to error:) beginning with the terms of art, and then to the matter; peruſing what is antiquated, and obſerving what is ſuitable to the preſent conſtitution and complexion. It's my lord Cook's rule, "That for the moſt "part the latter judgments and reſolutions are "the ſureſt, and therefore fitteſt to ſeaſon a "man withal in the beginning; both for ſetling "his judgment, and retaining them in memory; "yet as he goeth on, out of the old fields muſt "ſpring and grow the new corn."

Our lawyers courſe was ſlow and leiſurely, his reading digeſted and deliberate: his conſiderations wary, and diſtruſt his way to knowledge. He that begins with certainties, ends in doubts: and he that begins with doubts, ends in certainties, and looketh into the bottom of things.

Upon ſerious and ſolid books he beſtowed a double reading; the one curſorily, by way of preparation; and the other exact, by way of digeſtion.

Three things made him a pleader: 1.

1. Reading. Edw. 6.
2. Obſervation.
3. Exerciſe.

And indeed, in ancient times, the ſerjeants and apprentices of law did draw their own pleadings, which made them good pleaders. *

He obſerved the affections, the intent, the analogy, the validity of the law, putting all his reading to writing; having the places he was moſt to handle in all the variety that could be, with his rules and maxims, as far as reading, hearing, meditation, conference and memory could help him.

Thus his firſt thoughts were upon his profeſſion, until that advanced him to the higheſt eminence; and his laſt upon his intereſt, until that was improved to as much fortune as lieth in a well-laid eſtate and alliance.

* Vid. Cok. in Littl. Preſat.

The end of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of England, in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

THE STATES-MEN AND FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of Queen MARY.

Obſervations on the Life of Queen MARY.

Rapin. THE exceſſive bigotry of queen Mary is evident from the hiſtory of her reign. To this ſhe joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which ſhe endeavoured to confound with zeal for religion. But when it was not poſſible to unite them, ſhe plainly ſhewed, ſhe was inclined to cruelty, as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this diſpoſition by all who approached her. King Philip was naturally moroſe. Gardiner was one of the moſt revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other biſhops were choſen from amongſt [illegible]

moſt cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the epiſcopal dignity. The perſecution therefore againſt the proteſtants in this reign, has nothing which ought to ſeem ſtrange. Dr. Burnet ſays, Mary had a generous diſpoſition of mind. It were to be wiſhed, he had given us ſome paſſages of her life, where this generoſity appeared. For my part (ſays Rapin) I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spaniſh ambaſſador's project, to make herſelf abſolute at the expence of the laws and liberties of the nation. She diſcovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loſs of Calais. though there was not ſomething more odious, would be an everlaſting blot upon her reign. Q. Mary

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Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Cordel.

SIR William Cordel, where ever he was born, had a fair eſtate at Long-Melford in Suffolk, and lieth buried in that fair church, under a decent monument: we will tranſlate his epitaph, which will perfectly acquaint us with the great offices he had, and good offices he did to poſterity. Lloyd.

Hic Gulielmus *habet requiem*, Cordelliæ *avito*,
Stemmate qui clarus, clarior ingenio:

Q. Mary *Hic Studiis primos conſumpſit fortiter annos,*
Mox & cauſarum ſtrenuus actor erat.
Tanta illi doctrina inerat, facundia tanta
Ut Parlamento publica lingua foret:
Poſtea factus Eques, Reginæ arcana Mariæ
Conſilia, & Patriæ grande ſubibat opus.
Factus & eſt Cuſtos Rotulorum; urgente ſenecta,
In Chriſto moriens cepit ad aſtra viam.
Pauperibus largus victum veſtemque miniſtrans,
Inſuper Hoſpitii condidit ille domum.

" *Here* William Cordel *doth in reſt remain;*
" *Great by his Birth, but greater by his Brain:*
" *Plying his ſtudies hard, his youth throughout,*
" *Of Cauſes he became a Pleader ſtout,*
" *His Learning deep ſuch Eloquence did vent,*
" *He was choſe Speaker to the Parliament:*
" *Afterwards Knight Queen Mary did him make,*
" *And Counſellour, State-Work to undertake;*
" *And Maſter of the Rolls: well worn with Age,*
" *Dying in Chriſt, Heaven was his utmoſt Stage.*
" *Diet and Clothes to poor he gave at large,*
" *And a fair Alms-Houſe founded on his charge.*

He was made maſter of the rolls November the fifth, in the fifth of queen Mary, continuing therein till the day of his death, the 23d of queen Elizabeth. Eight weeks and upwards paſſed between the proclaiming of queen Mary, and the firſt parliament by her aſſembled; during which time, two religions were together ſet on foot, proteſtantiſm and popery; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be reſtored: and as the Jews children after the captivity ſpake a middle language, betwixt H[illegible]

brew

brew and Aſhdod; ſo during the foreſaid inte- Q. Mary
rim, the churches and chappels in England had
a mixt celebration of their divine ſervice be-
tween reformation and ſuperſtition: the ſame
day there was a maſs ſung for Edward the ſixth's
ſoul in the tower, and the Engliſh ſervice for his
burial in Weſtminſter. No ſmall juſtling was
there between the zealous promoters of theſe
contrary perſwaſions: the proteſtants had the law
on their ſide, and the papiſts the prerogative:
theſe the queen's opinion, the other her promiſe.
Beſides, ſeeing by the fidelity of the Suffolk and
Norfolk proteſtant gentry, the queen was much
advantaged for the recovery of her right *; they
conceived it but reaſon, that as ſhe by them re-
gained the crown, ſo they under her ſhould enjoy
their conſciences: thus it is in the evening twi-
light, wherein light and darkneſs at firſt may
ſeem very equally matched, but the latter in a
little time may wholly prevail. The catholick
canvaſs for the next parliament, upon the queen's
credit and authority: the reformed, upon the
nation's inclination.

The body of the kingdom meets, and chuſeth
our knight for ſpeaker, whoſe temper was a re-
preſentative of the parliament, as that is of the
kingdom: a temper made up of an equal mix-
ture of loyalty and piety, that could at once
ſtand to their religion, and ſubmit to their ſove-
raign; *Render to* Cæſar *what was* Cæſar's, *and
to God, what was God's*: long did he expect that
the queen would comply with the parliament,
and as long did ſhe ſtay for their compliance
with her: unite they could not unanimouſly a-
mong

* Fuller Eccleſ. Hiſt. B. 8. Cent. 15.

Q. Mary mong themſelves, diſſolved they are therefore peaceably by her.

But Cordel was too popular to be neglected, and too honeſt to be corrupted: uſeful parts will finde preferment, even when the diſſenting judgement findes not favour. The ſpeaker of the unhappily *healing* parliament was made maſter of the rolls in queen Maries days, and of a more happily *healing* one was made ſo in Charles the ſecond's reign: the one was of that primitive faith that was before the modern names of *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants*; the other of a moderation that was elder than the new heats of diſciplinarians and anti-diſciplinarians.

The miſcarriages of authority are chiefly ſix:

1. Delay.
2. Faction.
3. Roughneſs.
4. Corruption.
5. Ambition. And
6. Private Deſigns.

No delay hindred: where ſet times of hearing were obſerved, acceſs was eaſie, the order and method of buſineſs uninterrupted. No corruption, where there durſt be no ſuſpicion of it; inſomuch as that it was heinous to offer a bribe to him, as to take it in another. Here was ſeverity that awed men to a diſcontent, but no auſterity that ſowred them to diſcontent; all was ſmooth and grave, pleaſing and becoming, yet nothing eaſie or ſoft; it being worſe to yield to importunities that are dayly, than to be bought with money, which comes but ſeldom.

Vertue in ambition is violent, but in authority, as here, it was calm and ſettled. He ſide[d] with

with no faction in his riſe, but balanced himſelf by all: he had no deſign when he lived, but to be ſpent in the publick ſervice; and none when he dyed, but to ſpend himſelf in publick charity, a charity that is at once the continued bleſſing and grace of that worſhipful family. Cato Major would ſay, *That wiſe men learn more of fools, than fools do of wiſe men:* and king Charles the firſt would ſay, *That it was wiſdom in fools to jeſt with wiſe men, but madneſs for wiſe men to jeſt with fools:* and ſir William Cordel bequeathed us this obſervation, *There is no man that talks, but I may gain by him; and none that holds his tongue, but I may loſe by him.* Q. Mary

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Obſervations on the Life of Sir Anthony Cooke.

SIR Anthony Cooke, great grandchilde to ſir Thomas Cooke lord mayor of London, was born at Giddy-Hall in Eſſex, where he finiſhed a fair houſe begun by his great grandfather, as appeareth by this inſcription on the frontiſpiece thereof: Lloyd.

Ædibus his frontem Proavus Thomas dedit olim,
Addidit Antoni cætera ſera manus.

He was one of the governours to king Edward the ſixth when prince, and is characterized by

* Thomas the great grandfather raiſed the front,
Anthony long after finiſhed the building.

Q. Mary by Mr. Cambden, * *Vir Antiqua ſerenitate.* He obſerveth himſelf alſo to be happy in his daughters, † learned above their ſex in greek and latine: namely,

1. Mildred	married unto	William Cecil, lord treaſurer of England.
2. Anne		Nicholas Bacon, L. chancellour of England.
3. Katherine		Henry Killigrew, Kts.
4. Elizabeth		Thomas Hobby, Kts.
5.		Ralph Rowlet, Kts.

Sir Anthony Cooke dyed in the year of our lord 1576, leaving a fair eſtate unto his ſon, in whoſe name it continued till our time. Gravity was the ballaſt of his ſoul, and general learning its leading. In him met the three things that ſet up a family.

1. An eſtate honeſtly gotten in the city.
2. An education well managed in the univerſity. And,
3. Honour well beſtowed at court.

Yet he was ſome-body in every art, and eminent in all the whole circle of arts lodging in his ſoul. His latine, fluent and proper; his greek, critical and exact; his philology, and obſervations upon each of theſe languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent: his logick, rational; his hiſtory and experience, general; his rhetorick and poetry, copious and genuine; his mathematicks

* A man of primitive equanimity.
† Cambd. Eliz. anno 1576.

maticks, practicable and uſeful. Knowing that ſouls were equal, and that women are as capable of learning as men, he inſtilled that to his daughters at night, which he had taught the prince in the day; being reſolved to have ſons by education, for fear he ſhould have none by birth; and leſt he wanted an heir of his body, he made five of his mind, for whom he had at once a *Gavel-kind* of affection, and of eſtate. Q. Mary

His childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their diſpoſition; neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them againſt their natures. It is the happineſs of forreigners, that their vocations are ſuited to their natures, and that their education ſeconds their inclination; and both byaſs and ground do wonders. It's the unhappineſs of Engliſhmen, that they are bred rather according to their eſtates, than their temper; and great parts have been loſt, while their calling drew one away, and their genius another; and they ſadly ſay, *Multum incolæ fuere animæ noſtræ, we have dwelt from home.* Force makes nature more violent in the return; Doctrine and diſcourſe may make it leſs importune; cuſtom may hide or ſuppreſs it, nothing can extinguiſh it: nature even in the ſofter ſex runs either to weeds or herbs: careful was this good father therefore, ſeaſonably to water the one, and deſtroy the other. Much was done by his grave rules, more by his graver life, that map of precepts. Precepts teach, but examples draw. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia*, was Cato's maxime. Three things there are before whom (was ſir Anthony's ſaying) I cannot do

* The greateſt regard is to be had to children.

Q. Mary do amiſs. 1. My prince. 2. My conſcience. 3. My children. Seneca told his ſiſter, *That though he could not leave her a great portion, he would leave her a good pattern.* Sir Anthony would write to his daughter Mildred, *My example is your inheritance, and my life is your portion.* His firſt care was to embue their tender ſouls with a knowing, ſerious and ſober religion, which went with them to their graves. His next buſineſs was to inure their younger years to ſubmiſſion, modeſty and obedience; and to let their inſtructions grow with their years. Their book and pen was their recreation; the muſick and dancing ſchool, the court and city, their accompliſhment; the needle in the cloſet, and houſe-wifry in the hall and kitchings their buſineſs. They were reproved, but with reaſon that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenious ſhame, as an unfeigned ſorrow, and a dutiful fear. Fondneſs never loved his children, and paſſion never chaſtiſed them; but all was managed with that prudence and diſcretion, that my lord Seymour ſtanding by one day when this gentleman chid his ſon, ſaid, *Some men govern Families with more ſkill than others do Kingdoms*; and thereupon commended him to the government of his nephew Edward the ſixth. Such the majeſtie of his looks and gate, that awe governed; ſuch the reaſon and ſweetneſs, that love obliged all his family: a family equally afraid to diſpleaſe ſo *good* a head, and to offend ſo *great*. In their marriage they were guided by his reaſon, more than his will; and rather *directed* by his counſel, than *led* by his authority. They were their own portion: parts, beauty and breeding beſtow-

them-

themſelves. His care was, that his daughters might have compleat *Men*, and that their huſbands might be happy in compleat *Women*: never promiſing, yet always paying a great dowry. Their ſpirit and buſineſs kept them from that weak paſſion of love that embaſeth mankind; their noble converſe improved that friendly love that perfecteth it; and their marriage compleated that nuptial love that makes it. He ſaid firſt, and his grandchilde my lord Bacon after him, that *the Joys of Parents are Secrets, and ſo are their griefs and fears.* Children ſweeten labours, but they imbitter misfortunes: they increaſe the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. Very providently did he ſecure his eternity, by leaving the image of his nature in his children, and of his mind in his pupil. The recreations he indulged were moderate, lawful, ſober, becoming, uſeful, and ſeaſonable: the expences he allowed, not ſo illiberal as to acquaint them with ſhifts, make them ſort with mean company, nor ſurfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet ſo prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he adviſed were not *many*, but *choice*: the buſineſs he preſſed was not reading, but digeſting. The king of Sweden's men were but ſix deep; and ſir Anthony's exerciſes were not thick, but methodical and armed; the diet he preſcribed moderate: in apparel he allowed for neceſſity, for decency, and in ſome caſes for magnificence, provided that it were neither too coſtly, nor too vain: neither above the purſe, nor beyond the calling, nor beſides the eſtate. Q. Mary

Sir

Q. Mary Sir Anthony took more pleaſure to breed up ſtateſ-men, than to be one. Contemplation was his ſoul, privacy his life, and diſcourſe his element. Buſineſs was his purgatory, and publickneſs his torment: yet ſo ſerviceable was he in Edward the ſixth's time, that he was in exile in queen Maries. What though he and others were uſeful and peaceable in the commonwealth? What though they were ſound in the faith, and cordially embracing the doctrine of the catholick church? What though thoſe in this condition were many, and ſuch as in whoſe peace and induſtry the welfare of the whole notion was exceedingly concerned? What if they offered to be inſtructed by any who would take that work upon them, in the things about which their differences are? What if they plead conſcience towards God, and that alone in their diſſent, it being evidently againſt their whole temporal intereſt? What if they have given evidence of their readineſs in the ways of Chriſt and the Goſpel, to oppoſe even error that ſeemed pernicious to the ſouls of men, or of an evil aſpect to publick peace and tranquility? all is one, they are upon ſome odd jealouſies of future events to be forborn, neither joyntly nor ſeverally, no one nor all of them in a caſe that concerns the intereſt of a predominant party, though the hands of a thouſand be by thoſe means taken off from labour, their ſtocks from employment, their minds from contrivances of induſtry in their own concerns, the revenues of thoſe under whom they live decayed; in all which the common good hath no ſmall intereſt, fulneſs and plenty in the mean time diverting the thoughts of ſuch who might [illegible]

dy

dy theſe things, before the ſtock of the nation is waſted, and the affairs of it intangled beyond remedy, from taking notice of them, or keeping off any impreſſion on their minds and judgments, from what is repreſented concerning them; tho' men ſhould look well to the ground of their actings, in things wherein they proceed againſt the common conſent of mankind, expreſſed in all inſtances of the like occaſion, that have occurred in the world; which is as great an evidence of the light and law of nature, as any can be obtained: for what all men generally conſent in, is from the common nature of all, who have by a common experience found, that the inward power of religion always prevailed upon the world, and its greateſt oppoſition, more than any outward force: and men do not conſider aright, what a ſecret influence into the enervating of politick ſocieties, ſuch intrenchments upon the principles of the light of nature will aſſuredly have: for thoſe things which ſpring up in the minds of men without arguing or conſideration from without, will inſenſibly prevail in them againſt all law and conſtitution to the contrary, force them from the prevalent influence of a particular intereſt to the contrary,— * *Peſſimus diuturnitatis Cuſtos.*——will not always prevail, nor ever at any time, without great regret and commotion in the minds of men, who have no concern in that intereſt, but act unavoidably according to that principle which ſooner or later will perform its work; which is to make a judgment of a man's ſelf and his actions, with reference to the future judgment of God, which men muſt Q. Mary

* The worſt protector for a continuance.

Q. Mary muſt be ſuffered to do (notwithſtanding the abuſe of that pretence of conſcience by brain-ſick or enthuſiaſtick perſons in their paroxiſms, which is to take no place in conſideration of what becomes a guidance of the actions of mankind one towards another) in things belonging properly to its cognizance; unleſs, which all that have exerciſed any reflect acts upon themſelves, and know that neither they nor others can; and that God himſelf (who procures the aſſent of men onely by conviction and evidence to what he revealeth) will not force men's minds.

A wicked deſign it is of putting out God's great vice-gerent out of his place and throne, and to act not in a pious way of imitating the holineſs, wiſdom, and clemency of God, in an ambitious way of uſurping his Soveraignty, who yet enjoyneth not the belief of any thing he propoſeth as an object of faith; nor obedience in any thing which he commandeth, as matter of duty, till he hath given, what no man can, ſufficient evidence of reaſon for the one; and warrantry of authority for the other; for religion is a matter of choice, and he that chooſeth not his religion has none. Alledge, that any ſort of men may act otherwiſe, and impoſe upon men practices, without reference to the judgment of God, is to ſuppoſe that he hath ſet up an authority againſt himſelf; provided that the pretences of conſcience, ſhroud not any practices that may interfere with the common light of nature or reaſon of mankind, the fundamental articles of Chriſtian religion, moral honeſty, civil ſociety, and publick tranquility, the church and commonwealth ſtanding on the ſame bottom, and their intereſt being of the

ſame

ſame breadth and length, and to be mutually narrowed or widened by each other, like Hippocrates his twins, not only being born and dying, but laughing and crying together, as equally affected with their mutual concerns. I mean, thoſe moſt fixed and conſiderable: otherwiſe to build the unchangeable intereſt of a nation, which ſhould be obnoxious to nothing, but the overruling Providence of the moſt high, much leſs to the impreſſions of various opinions, which will alway be in the world, upon laws mutable and changeable, according to men's experience of their uſe or inconvenience: and though various ſtate of things, is a thing of ſo evil an aſpect toward the ſolid foundation of the polity of that nation, in ſhaking its ſettlement in the minds of men, and as things may happen, narrowing its intereſt unto a ſcantling unproportionate unto its ſuperſtructure, as undoubtedly, thoſe who are principally concerned that the kingdom ſhould not be a floating Delos, are obliged not to admit an avowance of it, being dangerous, and ſcarce conſiſtent with the prudence that ſhould ſteer the peace of the world, to bring any one of the numerous and diſputable apprehenſions, that will be likely to the end of the world among men, to be the conſtitution of a government, as to its civil intereſt, to which otherwiſe all men of all perſons profeſs they are born, and indiſpenſably engaged to an obedience to and obſervance of, as expoſing that (an awful reverence whereof groweth up with all men, their temporal concerns being wrapped up in it, ſo far as to free it) to all the uncertain events of religious controverſies, eſpecially when the principles owned by the go- Q. Mary

Q. Mary vernment, and ſuited to the intereſt of a few men, are ſo far from being diffuſed among a people, that the greateſt part of them muſt unavoidably, and will reſolvedly diſſent from them, who otherwiſe acquieſce in the *civil government*; and abating thoſe opinions of not great concernment, as to the ſubſtance of religion, or the peace of the nation, are willing to their utmoſt endeavours to the welfare thereof, which is hoped conſiſteth not in the impoſſibility of a preciſe determination of the differences in the minds and conſciences, of men, who are generally confirmed in their own perſuaſions, and into a further alienation from the things they are compelled to by compulſion and penalties; and who if brought to an outward conformity, without inward perſuaſion, without which rigour hath little influence on the minds of men, will not be wanting to any opportunity offered, to eaſe themſelves of a condition, which being contrary to their ſtrong inclination, they will caſt off, as we have known thouſands do, as their inſupportable burthen. Experience hath baffled the attempt of rigour and impoſition, without reaſon and inward ſatisfaction, it never ſucceeding any where to extinguiſh the perſwaſions and opinions it was deſigned to extirpate, which returned in a ſhort ſpace to make it manifeſt, that violence hath onely laid in proviſions for future troubles, oppoſitions and animoſities, by ruining ſome, provoking many, obſtructing trade, by diſcouraging and hindring men to exerciſe their faculties or ſtocks, enforcing few to an hypocritical compliance, compaſſion ſtirred up in all who after the ſubſiding of the impetuous impreſſions of provocations, abhor ſeverity about ſmall opinions

nions, ſo deeply rooted in the minds of men for a long time with great ſucceſs and advantages againſt men, come up to a reſolution to ſuffer, as appears every day by what they ſuffer, and forget the utmoſt of their earthly concerns, than live and dye in an open rebellion to the commanding light of God in their conſciences; and think it ſtrange, that noble diſpoſition, thoughts, counſel and care in uniting men by indulgence to loyalty and gratitude (which can be united to nothing elſe, ſave an unanimous diſcontent under the impoſitions they may undergo) ſhould be all ſacrificed to the intereſt or prejudices of any one party of men whatſoever, upon pretence of that tranquility and peace, to which there is not a greater enemy, than the fears and reſtleſsneſs of oppreſſed multitudes; nor a better friend, than the ſatisfaction and contentedneſs of all men, having no fears when indulged, but of the diſturbance of the government, which hath by its condeſcenſions, ſecured to them all their principal intereſts in the world, and made it unlikely that if they have any conſcience, which their great ſufferings give evidence of, or reaſon, they will joyn with any ſort of men to trouble that ſtate of things wherein they have that liberty, which they have been taught to value, by their miſerable condition under the want of it: a way of obliging, real, ſenſible and effectual to many thouſands, without the leaſt ſemblance of diſadvantage to any one man: yea, attended with aſſurance of peace to all, upon the admiſſion of counſels impartially tending to the good of all, uninfluenced by a mixture of fears and jealouſies, againſt which former ſettlements were eſtabliſhed;

Q. Mary

Q. Mary contrary to that experience, and thoſe ſecond thoughts, which a new conſideration of things may ſuggeſt unto them, to alter their reſolutions in compliance with the alteration of affairs, always provided it be in ſubordination to the great eſtabliſhment, which may be ſecured by the truth and order ſettled in it, the abilities and worth of it, the publick favour of authority, the perſons maintaining it, the legal privileges, and encouragements promoting it; the ſuppoſed inconſiderableneſs of the perſons oppoſing it, and the things for which they do it, the great inconveniency, diſadvantage and charge of carrying on the diſſenting, though indulged ways if it have any foundation in the conſciences or minds of men, and ſtand not onely, which is a ſecret not to be publiſhed, on the props of law and power: it being (whatſoever ſome may imagine, who have ſcarce a better argument of the truth of their own religion, than their inclination to ſuppreſs thoſe of the contrary) ſo far from being an evidence of truth in any, that they are ready to deſtroy thoſe who are otherwiſe minded, that it is a ſign of error and ſuperſtition, which being conſcious of its own weakneſs, is generally heightened to more or leſs cruelty and revenge, according as men by them are ſteeped in folly and blindneſs,

In mortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile bellum
Ardet adhuc Ombus & Tentyra ſummus utrinq;
Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterq; locus——
Ombus and Tentyra neigh'bring towns, of late
Broke into outrage of deep feſter'd hate.
A grudch in both, time out of mind, begun
And mutually bequeath'd from ſire to ſon——
Dryden's Tranſlation of Juvenal, Sat. 15.

and

and what was the ground and occaſion of the quarrel? Q. Mary

——*Crocodilon adorat*
Pars hæc, ille pavet ſaturam Serpentibus ibin.
One ſect, devotion to Nile's ſerpent pays;
Others to Ibis that on ſerpents preys.
Dryden's Tranſlation of Juvenal, Sat. 15.

All other nations, as France, Holland, Poland, the Palatine, Brandenburgh, Haſtia, ſome parts of Denmark, the Empire, and moſt of the free cities of it, indulging their numerous and divided diſſenters, upon their ſuſtaining all offices and burthens in the commonwealth equal with the others, with a freedom from eccleſiaſtical courts, cenſures, offices, and all penalties for their diſſent, and an allowance for the worſhip of God in their own aſſembly, provided by themſelves, and known to the magiſtrates under whoſe juriſdiction they are; tho' conſidering the temper of the people of this nation, the impreſſion of the principles of diſſent, in multitudes; the reſolution that their ſpirits are raiſed to; the value they put upon their conſciences, and liberty of it, there is no people under Heaven to whom forbearance would be more welcome, uſeful, acceptable, or more ſubſervient to tranquility, trade, wealth and peace. An exile, whoſe exemplary reſolution ſupported religion, whoſe obliging authority maintained peace, and whoſe inexhauſtible charity provided for the poor at Zurick and Frankford. A Suſſex (and not a Kentiſh) Knight, having ſpent a great eſtate at court, and brought himſelf to one park, and a fine houſe in it, was yet ambitious to entertain not the queen, but her brother at it, and to that purpoſe had new painted his gates with a

Q. Mary coat of arms, and a motto overwritten, thus; * OIA VANITAS, in great golden letters; ſir Anthony Cooke (and not his ſon Cecil) offering to read it, deſired to know of the gentleman what he meant by OIA? who told him, it ſtood for *omnia.* Sir Anthony replied, *Sir, I wonder having made your* omnia *ſo little as you have, you notwithſtanding make your* vanitas *ſo large.* King Edward would ſay to his tutors, that Randolph the German ſpake honeſtly, ſir John Cheek talked merrily, Dr. Coxe ſolidly, and ſir Anthony Cooke weighingly; a faculty that was derived with his blood to his grandchild Bacon, which informs the world of this great truth, that education doth much towards parts; induſtry more; converſe, encouragement and exerciſe, more yet; but a ſound temper and nature, an wholſome blood and ſpirit, derived from healthful and well conſtitutioned parents, doth all.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir David Brooke.

Lloyd. DAvid Brooke knight, born at Glaſſenbury, ſon to John Brooke, eſq; who was ſerjeant at law to king Henry the eighth. Our David was alſo bred in the ſtudy of our laws, and in the firſt of queen Mary was made chief baron of the exchequer: but whether dying in, or quitting the place in the firſt of queen Elizabeth, I am not informed. He married Katherine daughter of John lord Chandois, but dyed without iſſue.

A Lawyer,

* All is vanity.

A lawyer, and a lawyer's ſon! yet one whoſe zeal for the religion of that time advanced, rather than his law; to ſerve rather his prince's intereſt, than his court? that being the happy, ſhall I ſay? or unhappy time, when the ſovereign and the ſtate did often conſult the judges, and the judges more often conſult with the ſovereign and ſtate. Yet although a particular reſpect raiſed a general fair carriage kept him up; he obſerved not onely things, but times; not onely times but perſons: therefore when old pænal laws came before him, he confined them in the execution, that that which was made for *terror*, ſhould not be for *rigour*; and the inſtrument of government ſhould not be the ſnare of the people. When informers of that court were too buſie, he checked them; when violent proſecution, cunning advantages, combinations, power, or great counſel balanced an honeſt cauſe, he ſet all things *even*. His invention was good to improve his miſtreſſes revenue, his conſcience was as tender to diminiſh it. Queen Mary was ready of her own inclination, but readier upon ſir David Brooke's motion, to part with the church profits. Patient and grave he was in hearing, ſparing and weighty in ſpeaking: none would direct an evidence more orderly, none moderated the length or impertinency of pleaders more diſcreetly: none would recapitulate, ſelect, collate the material points of what had been ſaid, more exactly; none gave judgment more ſatisfactorily, always commending a good lawyer that miſcarried; a good way to uphold in the client the reputation of his counſel, and beat down in him the conceit of his cauſe. He dyed with ſome projects in his Q. Mary

Q. Mary his breaſt for the revenue, and ſome for the law; whereof one was a compoſition for the purveyances, and another a regulation of the wards: both at that time thought, ill regulated, as unprofitable for the crown, as they ſeemed to be burthenſome to the ſubject. He had a cloſe way of diſcovering concealments, as he had a ſevere one of puniſhing frauds. His word was, *one law executed, is worth twenty made.* None more auſtere in caſe of others wrong, none more mild in that of his own; and he would ſay, *What is done, is done.* Weak men concern themſelves, in what is paſt, while the wiſe take care of what is preſent and to come. *If a man wrongeth me once, God forgive him* (ſaith the Italian:) *if he wrongeth me the ſecond time God forgive me.* Others may be even with their enemies in revenge, he would be above them in forgiveneſs. An enemy, I ſay, though otherwiſe to a perfidious and unworthy friend, he was much of Coſmus duke of Florence his temper, who ſaid, *you ſhall read that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.*

Many have inveighed againſt uſury, none have done more againſt it than this knight; who if he had lived, was reſolved to reduce it to theſe rules.

1. That it ſhould be declared unlawful.

2. Being declared ſo, if any practiſed it (as men muſt do, or traffick will fall) that there ſhould be a penalty upon the uſurer, which might amount to an exciſe or cuſtom that would ariſe from that money, if employed in merchandize.

3. That

3. That yet if any exacted above five in the hundred, they ſhould loſe the principal. A rate that on the one hand would keep up the neceſſary commerce of lending and borrowing among the old and the idle, and yet direct men to that more *neceſſary* of buying and improving land, and other commodities that are more induſtrious and ingenious. Q. Mary

4. That none yet preſume this, but in ſome principal places of merchandizing: for then (as my lord Bacon hath projected it) they will hardly be able to colour other mens money in the country: for no man will lend his money far off, or put it into unknown hands.

Or, laſtly, that there be no money lent out upon terms but to the ſtate, which may make its advantage of it.

Indeed, conſidering on the one hand that uſury decayeth the king's cuſtom, bringeth money to few hands, damps induſtry and invention, beats down the price of the land, and by eating up private eſtates, breeds a publick poverty: it were to be wiſhed it were forbidden. And on the other, that borrowers trade moſt; that, no uſury, no young merchants; that, without uſury men muſt ſell their eſtates at under-rates, more ſad than uſury; that, no borrowing, no living; no uſury, no borrowing: it were wiſhed it were regulated, ſo that the inconveniencies of it were avoided, and the advantages retained, and extortion be checked, as traffick is encouraged.

Thus he that hath no private care, advanceth the publick good, and the childleſs man is moſt thoughtful for poſterity: certainly the beſt works

and

Q. Mary and of greateſt merit for the publick, have proceeded from the unmarried, or the childleſs man; who both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick: he that hath wife and children, hath given hoſtages to fortune: for they are impediments either to vertue or miſchief.

A fat man in Rome riding always upon a very lean horſe, being aſked the reaſon thereof, anſwered, *That he fed himſelf, but he truſted others to feed his Horſe.* Our judge being aſked what was the beſt way to thrive; ſaid, *Never do any thing by another, that you can do by your ſelf.*

Obſervations on the Life of Doctor Thomas Wilſon.

Lloyd. THOMAS WILSON, born in Lincolnſhire, was doctor of laws, bred fellow of Kings Colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards was tutor in the ſame univerſity to Henry and Charles Brandon, ſucceſſively dukes of Suffolk. Under queen Elizabeth he was made maſter of the hoſpital of S. Katherines nigh the tower of London. At laſt he became ſecretary of ſtate to the queen for four years together. He dyed anno 15.—To whoſe various and yet deep knowledge, not of the ſurface of arts and ſciences for ſhews, but of inſide and ground of them for uſe, not onely apprehending the frame, but perceiving the power and importance of them, there

there is no character that ever I read, ſo agree- Q. Mary
able as that which the moſt eloquent Cicero gave
the moſt learned Varro, *Tu ætatem patriæ, tu deſcriptiones temporum, tu ſacrorum jura, tu ſacerdotum, tu bellicam diſciplinam, tu ſedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum, humanarumq; rerum nomina, genera, officia, cauſas aperuiſti; plurimumq; Poetis luminis attuliſti, elegans poema feciſti, Philoſophiamq; multis locis inchoaſti.* An argument of a great capacity in a man of his great place, and greater employment; whoſe candour was yet equal with his parts, ingeniouſly paſſing by the particular infirmities of thoſe who contributed any thing to the advancement of a general learning; judging it fitter that men of abilities ſhould joyntly engage againſt ignorance and barbariſm, than ſeverally claſh with one another; giving this advice to all men concerned in publick writings, that they might avoid both cenſure from others, and trouble to themſelves, * *temperanter rem gero:* and this he recommended, not only to ſcholars in general, but to ſome peculiarly diſcreet perſons in particular; knowing that that which toucheth all, uſually reacheth none: admoniſhing likewiſe his friends, to uſe no words, but ſuch as had ſome correſpondent things, and to take care that their conceptions ſhould anſwer their expreſſions; there having been of late in the world, a way of learning that overthrew knowledge, conſiſting of opinions remote from mens cogitations, which men ſpake, but thought not, thinking they had invented new things, when they found out new words. The reaſon why his writings excelled ſo much in the worth and uſe of the ſubject; in the

* I do buſineſs leiſurely.

Q. Mary the exactneſs of the method, in the ingenuity of the deſign, and in the temper of the writer, who diſcourſed not, but demonſtrated, framing firſt the diſordered minds of men to an exact way of reaſoning, and afterwards digeſting things to a ſtrict form of argument; which a man learneth not from precepts, but by uſe, and reading ſuch books as are compiled, not with a looſe fancy, but a ſevere reaſon, eſpecially ſuch politick books, as are made up of experience, which is our recollecting of things paſt; and prudence, which is our expectation of things to come, according to our experience of things paſt, eſpecially ſuch as have the happineſs of perceiving things exactly as they are, and expreſſing them clearly and orderly as they conceive them.

He had the breeding of courtiers ſo long, until he was one himſelf: at once reading *Machiavel* for my lord Burleigh's inſtruction, and obſerving it for his own uſe. His parents deſigned him for ſtudy, his nature for buſineſs. His preſence aſſiſted his inclination, and his compliſance his preſence; and his good nature, both: a good nature that would have ſpoiled a politician in any other but doctor Wilſon, whoſe wiſdom was the largeneſs of his ſoul, not the narrowneſs of a ſhift. He had that comprehenſive and penetrating judgement, that he could at once ſhew the greateſt prudence in laying his deſign, and the greateſt integrity in managing it, as rather *ſecurely knowing*, than *warily cloſe*. "But he that is onely real, had need have exceeding great parts of vertue; as the ſtone had need be rich, that is ſet without foil: therefore he was ſomething a courtier. There

"are

" are ſmall matters that win great commenda- Q. Mary.
" tion, becauſe they are continually in uſe;
" whereas the occaſion of any great action com-
" eth but on feſtivals, and it is enough to attain
" ſo much ceremony and courtſhip, not to deſ-
" piſe it." He had a way of conveying effectual and imprinting paſſions among complements, ſuitable to perſons and buſineſs: he had his familiarity to inferiors, that made him not cheap: his ſtate among equals, that made him not envied: and his obſervance to ſuperiors, that made him no flatterer: his behaviour like a well-made ſuit, not too ſtrait, or *point-device*, but juſtly meaſured, and free for exerciſe or motion. He had a ſlow, but a ſure way to honor, which was nothing elſe in him but a diſcovery of his vertues and worth upon any occaſion, without any diſadvantage.

It was his intereſt as well as his gift, to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plauſible, more conſiderate than active. His thoughts were as his inclination, grave; his diſcourſe as his reading, ſubtile; his actions as his education, well-weighed, regular as his temper, even and ſmooth as cuſtom, and reſolved as a habit gotten in that advancement of vertue, a well-diſciplined ſociety; where example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickneth, glory raiſeth: none had a more ſkilful method to ſway nature in others, none more prudent minutes and ſeaſonable degrees to check it in himſelf; his rule being, never to practiſe any thing until perfect: for ſo he might exerciſe his weakneſs as well as his abilities, and induce one habit of both.

Three

Q. Mary

Three things he aimed at:

1. The ſearch of truth by induſtry.
2. The attainment of it by apprehenſion.
3. The enjoyment of it by aſſent.

He is a happy man that is above the troubled and confuſed regions of opinions, fancies, prepoſſeſſions, in that clear and undiſturbed one of truth and reality: though yet my lord Verulam obſerveth, that *if there were taken out of mens minds vain opinion, flattering hope, falſe valuations and imaginations, as one would, and the like,* &c. *it would leave the minds of a number of poor men poor ſhrunken things, full of melancholy and indiſpoſition, and unpleaſing to themſelves.*

Neither took he greater pleaſure in knowing than in relating and doing what is true, ſound and plain, without thoſe crooked courſes that ſhew a creeping rather than a raiſed nature; and, as Mr. Mountaigne obſerves, is a bravery and facing of God, and a ſhrinking from, and being coward before man.

He ſaid, what all great men know, that he was ſix times a ſlave:

1. To himſelf and his inclination, till he had advanced reaſon.
2. To the world and its inſolence, till he had improved his fortune.
3. To his pupils and their tempers, till he underſtood their genius.
4. To fame and its reports, till he was known in the world.
5. To his ſoveraigns and their humours, till he found their intereſt. And
6. To his buſineſs, till he had attained experience.

Thus

Thus it is with all grandees, who exchange Q. Mary
their power over themſelves for that over others,
and with great pains come to greater.

Two things he wiſhed when called to the world, power and reſolution. A *naked* man is contemptible (for it's power that begets fear, it's fear that makes Gods, and rules the world) an eaſie man is uſeleſs: a facile-natured man may be a good companion for a private perſon, but no ſervant to a prince: remiſneſs and connivance are the ruines of unſettled governments. The game of authority will not admit of too open a play.

In a word, he was one that knew the reſorts and falls of buſineſs, though he could not ſink into the main of a matter; being one that packed the cards better than he played them.

Three things compleated this ſecretary.

1. Quick diſpatch and induſtry.
2. Conſtant intelligence and correſpondence.
3. A large and ſtrong memory.

Queen Elizabeth would needs at firſt favour my lord of Leiceſter againſt the earl of Suſſex, which this doctor and my lord Burleigh diſſwaded upon this account, becauſe if ſhe who ſhould be the common mother of all, inclined to one party, and leaned to a ſide, the ſhip of the commonwealth would be as a boat overturned by too much weight on the one ſide, and too little on the other. *Take heed* (ſaid the royal martyr to his ſon our ſovereign) *of abetting any Faction, or applying to any publick Diſcrimination: your partial adhering as head to any one ſide gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to go on in the* King's *way) as it loſeth you*

Q. Mary *you in others, who think themſelves firſt deſpiſed, and then perſecuted by you. Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſs and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality; or ſo order affairs in point of power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any faction: for if ever you ſtand in need of them, or ſtand to their courteſie, you are undone.*

His place called upon him to ſuppreſs with ſeverity ſuch ſeditious reflexions upon the ſtate, as came to his knowledge: but his inclination was to diſſipate them with connivance and contempt. To be oppoſed, renders a faction conſiderable; to be deſpiſed (and wretched) ridiculous: *To go about to ſtop the firſt appearances of ſedition, is* (ſaith my lord Bacon) *but to make wonder long-lived.*

His knack was a politick and artificial nouriſhing and entertaining of hopes; and keeping men in ſuſpence is one of the beſt antidotes againſt the poyſon of diſcontent: it being obſerved by the foreſaid ſtates-man, to be a certain ſign of a wiſe government and proceedings, to hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot by ſatisfaction; and when it can handle things in ſuch manner, as no evil ſhall appear ſo peremptory, but that it hath ſome out-let of hope: which is the eaſier done, becauſe both particular perſons and factions are apt enough to flatter themſelves, or at leaſt to boaſt what they believe not.

In a word, although he made not ſo much noiſe as other men, yet he as effectually promoted the three main ſupporters of this nation, 1. Its native commodities, 2. Its artificial manufactures, 3. Its vecture and carriage; and ſo dyed with that

that content and reſolution, that they do who are overtaken by fate in the purſuit of great actions, and publick deſigns. Q. Mary

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Portman.

JOHN PORTMAN knight, was born of wealthy and worſhipful extraction at Portman's Orchard in Somerſetſhire, a fair mannor, which deſcended to him by inheritance, the heir of the Orchard being match'd into his family. He was bred in the ſtudy of the common law; attaining to ſuch eminency therein, that June 11, 2d of queen Mary, he was made chief juſtice of the king's bench, continuing two years in the place, and dying therein for ought I find to the contrary; and a baronet of his name and lineage flouriſhing at this day with a great and plentiful eſtate. No doubt but he dyed in his place, there being none of thoſe things that carry diſgrace and downfal with them, incident to him. Lloyd.

For the firſt thing that ruines a courtier, is * boaſting of his own ſervice; and than our knight, none more modeſt.

The ſecond, is an undutiful obſervation of our princes actions; and none more faithful and meek.

The third, is the revealing or abuſing of ſecrets; and none more reſerved and civil.

T The

* The things that overthrow a Favourite.

Q. Mary The fourth thing, is either provoking the nobility againſt *himſelf*, or dividing them among *themſelves*: he was too wiſe for the one, his deſign being rather alliance than quarrel, to add intereſt to his eſtate, and honor to his riches; and too quiet for the other. *Many have an Opinion not wiſe*, (ſaith that oracle) *that for a Prince to govern his Eſtate, or for a great Perſon to guide his Proceedings, according to the reſpect of factions, is a principal part of policy: whereas contrariwiſe, the chiefeſt wiſdom is either in ordering thoſe things that are general, and wherein men of ſeveral factions do nevertheleſs agree; or in dealing with, or correſpondence to particular perſons one by one. Mean men in their riſing muſt adhere; but Great men that have ſtrength in themſelves, were better to maintain themſelves indifferent and neutral.*

The fifth particular that pulleth down a man, is a miſunderſtanding of his own intereſt, or the princes: our judge underſtood both, being equally made up of * *Craterus* and *Hæpheſtion*, faithfulneſs and compliance.

The ſixth, is the hatred of the *many* (whom this perſons integrity always obliged, there being no herd more feral than an enraged multitude) or the envy of the *great*, whom his warineſs diſobliged not: it being more fatal to incenſe a favorite who *would* be above all affronts by his greatneſs, than a prince who is ſo by law.

The ſeventh misfortune, is to be too much concerned in the ſecrets of princes; wherewith ſir William never meddled without aſſiſtants, never acted without a warrant.

The

* The firſt of theſe loved Alexander's intereſt, the other his perſon.

The eighth, is unſucceſsful counſel; and our knight went the ſafe and middle way, neither to be feared nor envied, which he was always preſent to ſecond, proſecute or correct, as he ſaw moſt cauſe. Q. Mary

His ſharp and ſound judgement to diſtinguiſh perſons, affairs and other circumſtances, and accordingly how to order the manner of his proceedings, was much; his well-weighed and wary, though quick apprehenſion and experience from men and books, more; his particular memory, and its minute obſervation for his conduct and buſineſs, moſt of all. His care of vain and idle prepoſſeſſions balanced his ſoul, his temper managed it: his love was choice and cautious; his hope moderate and knowing; his confidence ſlow, but certain; his deſires and joys allayed and checked, or quickened by the edge of his anger, or the caution of his fear; and all ſedate with his foreſight.

Nature did his perſon ſome wrong in his body, but made him amends in his ſoul: the *fails* of the one, are *foils* to ſet of the other: the firſt comes off with more glory, by the pully and defect of the ſecond! beſides that the unkindneſs of *Nature* puts men often upon being eminent in *Art*; that the happineſs of this, may divert men from obſerving the unhappineſs of that.

But of all the vertues his conſtant and growing ſoul raiſed him to, this was one, that he durſt not entertain a gift, which (as he ſaid) *conquers both the fooliſh and the wiſe*: which in publick places it is a vice to accept, and not a vertue to offer: it being a *ſnare* rather than a *favour*.

Q. Mary His next was diligence: neglect waſtes a man as inſenſibly as induſtry improves him: we need no more but ſit ſtill, and diſeaſes will ariſe onely for want of exerciſe. Man's a watch that muſt be looked to and wound up every day: the leaſt incurioufneſs ſteals to improficiency or offence, which degreeingly weighs us down to extremity: diligence alone is a fair fortune, and induſtry a good eſtate.

There are five mens activities that raiſe to eſtates.

1. The divine to a ſmall, but an honeſt one.
2. The phyſician to a competency, but uncertain.
3. The courtier to a great one, and an honorable.
4. The citizen to a large one, but not laſting. And
5. The lawyer to one large, and firm too.

Seldom doth his family fail, who is ſure to tye his eſtate to his child by an entail, and his child to his eſtate by an *Education* and an *Employment*. When we obſerve the ſeveral alterations in gentry, we find four principal actors on the theatres of great families; the beginner, the advancer, the continuer, and the ruiner.

1. The beginner, who by his vertues refineth himſelf from the droſs of the vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his houſe.
2. The advancer, who improveth it.
3. The continuer, who conveyeth it to his poſterity as he received it from his anceſtors.
4. The ruiner, that degenerates from his fathers. Our judge began not, but advanced that excel-

excellent family, whoſe original I cannot find, ſo ancient it is; and whoſe end I hope none will ſee, it is ſo noble. Q. Mary

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Obſervations on the Life of William Howard.

WILLIAM HOWARD, ſon to Thomas Howard, ſecond of that ſurname duke of Norfolk, was by queen Mary created baron of Effingham in Surrey, and by her made lord admiral of England; which place he diſcharged with credit. He was one of the firſt favourers and furtherers with his purſe and countenance of the ſtrange and wonderful diſcovery of Ruſſia. He died *anno Dom.* 1554. Lloyd.

This noble perſon had his plainneſs from his father, his ingenuity from his mother, his experience by travel and navigation: his blood endeared him to his ſoveraign, and his abilities advanced him to her ſervice: he promiſed no leſs to his miſtreſs, than his father and uncle had performed to her father. The anceſtor's merit is ſecurity for poſterities, who will hardly forfeit that favour with one act of their own unworthineſs, that was gained by ſo many of their predeceſſors ſervice. Like a well-drawn picture this lord had his eye on all round: on his queen, to be faithfull; on his country, to be publick-ſpirited; on his family, to be honourable; on the

Q. Mary preſent age, to be active; and on the future, to be renowned.

The old lord Burleigh, ſometime treaſurer of England, coming to Cambridge with queen Elizabeth, when he was led into the publick ſchools, and had much commended their convenience, beauty and greatneſs, together with their founder Humphrey the good duke of Gloceſter; *Yea, marry,* (ſaid he) *but I find one School wanting in our Univerſities, and that is the School of* Diſcretion. When private tutors had initiated, publick ſchools had ſeaſoned, and the univerſity had improved this gentleman's ſprightly and noble parts, yet did his father obſerve one great defect in his education, and that is diſcretion: diſcretion in carriage, for which he ſent him to court; diſcretion in buſineſs, for which he ſent him to travel and fight. Not long had he been abroad to furniſh himſelf with experience, but he is called home to ennoble himſelf with action. The Alves of Spain were for four generations together commanders by land, and the Howards of England for as many, admirals at ſea. None ever had *more* power, none uſed *leſs* than he: the more authority he had allowed him over others, the more command he obtained over himſelf.

Twice did he mortgage his eſtate for his followers pay; many times did he venture his life for their encouragement. None directed more ſkilfully, and yet none acted more reſolutely. Equally did he divide the profit, equally ſhare the honor with his followers, who under him never dared, and never feared a danger. Manners make a man, ſaith the courtier: money makes a man;

man, ſaith the citizen; learning makes a man, Q. Mary
ſaith the ſcholar; but conduct makes a man, ſaith the ſouldier. This lord's ſpirit never put him on forwardly, but his warineſs took care how to come off as ſafely. He that fights ſhould deſpair, but he that commands ſhould hope. The ſouldier among the Perſians is drawn with his eyes before him, and the general with his behind him. Young men in the manage of affairs embrace more than they can hold, ſtir more than they can quiet, flee to the end without conſideration of the means and degrees, purſue ſome few principles, and extreme remedies they have chanced upon raſhly, which they will neither confeſs nor reform. Old men object too much, conſult too long, adventure too little, repent too ſoon, and ſeldome purſue things home to their full period. My lord was an happy compoſition of both himſelf, and had of either about him, that the coldneſs and warineſs of age might correct the heat of youth, and the activity of younger might be directed by the experience of riper ones: the one gave *Authority*, and the other *Life* to his actions. He himſelf was better to invent than to judge, fitter for action than counſel, and readier for new projects than for ſettled buſineſs. The lord Clinton's prudence ſerved him in old and uſual matters, but in new things abuſed him: my lord Howard's was quick for preſent emergencies, but not comprehenſive of ordinary tranſactions. Of the three admirals of thoſe times, we may ſay as they did of the * three kingdoms, Liſle was wiſe before the action, my lord Howard in it, my lord Clinton after it.

Eng-

* France, Spain, and England.

Q. Mary England without a freedom of commerce, was but a larger priſon: others opened the trade to the Indies, to Aſia, and other parts of the world; but we wanted the hemp, the flax, the pitch, the firr, and the other uſual commodities of Ruſſia, ſerviceable to our ſelves, and more to our ſhips. His purſe in this caſe did much, his direction more, his ſervant Jenkinſon moſt of all, who made curious obſervations of Ruſſia, ſet forth a geographical deſcription of it, and was the firſt of the Engliſh, that ſailed through the Caſpian Sea. With his aſſiſtance the Muſcovia company was ſet up in queen Maries days; and with his ſervants it obtained the priviledge of ſole traffick into the northern parts of Ruſſia in Elizabeth's.

Cicero. * *Nihil habet fortuna magna majus, nec natura bona melius quam ut velis bene-facere quam plurimis.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Mountague,

Lloyd. "EDWARD MOUNTAGUE, ſon of "Thomas Mountague, born at Brig- "ſtock in Northamptonſhire, was bred in the "Inner Temple in the ſtudy of the laws, untill "his ability and integrity adv anced him lord "chief

* Nothing makes an ample fortune more illuſtrious, nor a benevolent diſpoſition more admirable, than a deſire to do good to mankind.

" chief juſtice of the king's bench, in the thirti- Q. Mary
" eth of Henry the eighth. He gave for his
" motto, **Æquitas Juſtitiæ Norma*: and although
" equity ſeemeth rather to reſent of the chancery
" than the king's bench, yet the beſt juſtice will
" be wormwood without a mixture thereof.

" In his times though the golden ſhowers of
" abbey-lands rained amongſt great men, it was
" long before he would open his lap, (ſcrupling
" the acception of ſuch gifts) and at laſt re-
" ceived but little, in proportion to others of
" that age.

" In the thirty ſeventh of king Henry the
" eighth he was made chief juſtice of the com-
" mon pleas, a deſcent in honour, but aſcent in
" profit; it being given to old age, rather to
" be thrifty than ambitious: whereupon he ſaid,
" *I am now an old man, and love the Kitchen be-*
" *fore the Hall; the warmeſt place beſt ſuiting*
" *with my age.*

" In drawing up the will of king Edward the
" ſixth, and ſettling the crown on the lady Jane,
" for a time he ſwam againſt the tide and torrent
" of duke Dudley, till at laſt he was carried
" away with the ſtream.

" Outed of his judges office in the firſt of
" queen Mary, he returned into Northampton-
" ſhire, and what contentment he could not
" finde in Weſtminſter-hall, his hoſpital-hall at
" Boughton afforded him. He died Anno
" 1556, and lieth buried in the pariſh church of
" Weekly."

His well-managed argument in Dodderige his caſe, brought him to Cromwel's knowledge, who was

* Equity is the Rule of Juſtice.

Q. Mary was vexed with his reaſon, but well pleaſed with his parts. Cromwel's recommendation and his own modeſt nature ſet him up with Henry the eighth, who could not endure two things: 1. A lawyer that would not be guided: 2. A divine that would not be taught. Yet as modeſt as he was, he was honeſt; and though he would ſubmit to the king's power, yet he would act by his law: for his apophthegm was, *Meum eſt Jus dicere, potius quam Jus dare:* It's my duty to *interpret* rather than *give* law.

He never denied or delayed juſtice; always diſcouraging thoſe cunning lawyers that perplexed a cauſe, thoſe contentious clients that delayed a ſuit, and thoſe nice cummin-ſeed men that ſtrained inferences, and wreſted conſtructions.

Patient, ſtayed and equal he was in hearing, grave in ſpeaking, pertinent in interrogating, wary in obſerving, happy in remembring, ſeaſonable and civil in interpoſing. The council durſt not chop with him, neither would he chop with the council, unleſs he defended his cauſe overboldly, urged indiſcreetly, informed ſlightly, neglected groſly, renewed the debate unſeaſonably, or enſnared his adverſaries cunningly; in thoſe and other the like caſes, he would do the publick right by a *check*, and the perſon by an *admonition.*

Six ſorts of perſons he diſcountenanced in his courts:

1. The ſcandalous exactors.

2. The ſlie ſhifters, that, as that chancellour obſerved, pervert the plain and direct courſes of court

courts, and bring juſtice into oblique lines and labyrinths. Q. Mary

3. Thoſe that engaged courts in quarrels of juriſdiction.

4. Thoſe that made ſuits.

5. Thoſe that hunted men upon pænal ſtatutes.

6. Thoſe that appeared in moſt teſtimonies and juries.

His darling was, the honeſt clerk, who was experienced in his place, obliging in his carriage, knowing in preſidents, cautious in proceedings, and ſkilful in the affairs of the court.

Two things he promoted in king Henry's days;

1. The law againſt gaming. And
2. The order againſt ſtews.

And two in king Edward's:

1. That act againſt ſpreading of prophecies.
2. That ſtatute againſt embaſing of coyn.

But king Edward's teſtament and the Duke of Northumberland's will is to be made: the pious intentions of that king wiſhing well to the reformation, the religion of queen Mary obnoxious to exception, the ambition of Northumberland who would do what he liſted, the weakneſs of Suffolk, who would be done with as the other pleaſed, the flattery of the courtiers moſt willing to comply, deſigned the crown for the lady Jane Grey. Mr. Cecil is ſent for to London, to furniſh that will with reaſon of ſtate; and ſir Edward to Serjeant's Inn, to make it up with law. He according to the letter ſent him, went with ſir Jo. Baker, juſtice Bromley, the attorney and ſoli-

Q. Mary ſolicitor general to Greenwich, where his majeſtie before the marqueſs of Northampton, declaring himſelf for the ſettlement of religion, and againſt the ſucceſſion of queen Mary, offered them a bill of articles to make a book of; which they, notwithſtanding the king's charge, and the reiteration of it by ſir William Peter declared upon mature conſideration, they could not do, without involving themſelves and the lords of the council in high treaſon, becauſe of the ſtatutes of ſucceſſion.

The duke of Northumberland hearing of their declaration by the lord admiral, comes to the council-chamber all in a rage, trembling for anger; calling ſir Edward traytor, and ſaying, *he would fight in his ſhirt with any man in that quarrel.*

The old man is charged by the king upon his allegiance, and the council upon his life, to make the book; which he did, when they promiſed it ſhould be ratified in parliament. Here was his obedience, not his invention; not to *deviſe* but *draw* things up according to the articles tendred unto him. Since ſhame is that which ambitious nature abhorreth, and danger is that which timorous nature declineth; the honeſt man muſt be reſolute. Sir Nathaniel Brent would ſay, a coward cannot be an honeſt man; and it ſeems by this action, that modeſty and fear are great temptations. Give me thoſe four great vertues that make a man:

1. A clear Innocence.
2. A comprenſive knowledge.
3. A well-weighed experience. And
4. The product of all theſe, A ſteady Reſolution.

What

What a ſkein of Ruffled-ſilk (ſaith the ingenious Reſolver) *is the incompoſed man!* Q. Mary

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Obſervation on the Life of Sir Edward Fines.

EDward Fines lord Clinton, knight of the Garter, was lord admiral of England for more than thirty years. He was wiſe, valiant, and very fortunate, as appears by his *maſter-piece* in Muſcleborough field, in the reign of king Edward the ſixth, and the battle againſt the Scots. He was afterwards created earl of Lincoln, where he was born, May 4, 1474, and where he had a proportionable eſtate to ſupport his dignity, which he much increaſed, beſides his paternal inheritance. He died January 16, 1558, and lieth buried at Windſor, in a private chappel, under a ſtately monument, which Elizabeth his third wife, daughter to the earl of Kildare, erected in his remembrance. His fortune made him a younger brother, and his induſtry an heir; coming to court, where they that have eſtates, ſpend them; and they that have none, gain them. His recreation was at court, but his buſineſs in the country; where notwithſtanding the ſtatute in Henry the ſevenths time againſt paſturage for tillage, he grazed 11000 acres of ground: then a noble and gaining employment, that advanced many a family in one generation; and now a undoing one, that hath kept up as many *ten*. Lloyd.

The

Q. Mary and the beſt metalled men will comply with any occaſion. At White-hall, none more affable and courteous than our lord; at ſea, none more ſkilful; in the field, none more reſolute; in the country, none more thrifty and hoſpitable. His entertainments were orderly and ſuitable, made up of ſolid particulars, all growing upon his own eſtate. King Charles would ſay, *every man hath his vanity, and mine* (ſpeaking of the Soveraign) *is building: every man hath his humour, and mine* (ſaid he ſpeaking of the Fens) *is drayning.* Adding withal, *he that would be merry for a day, let him be trimmed; he that would be merry for a week, let him marry; he that would be merry for a year, let him build; he that would be merry for ages, let him* * improve. Now you would have him among his workmen and ſtewards in Lincoln, anon among the commiſſioners either in France or Scotland; by and by before Bulloign or Calice, and a while after at Spieres or Muſcleborough, and on a ſudden at a maſk in court. Neither was his ſoul leſs pliable to perſons than things: as boiſterouſly active as king Henry could expect, as piouſly meek as king Edward could wiſh, as warily zealous as queen Mary's time required, as piercingly obſervant as queen Elizabeth's perplexed occaſions demanded. It was by him and my lord Bacon ſaid of buſineſs, *that it was in buſineſs as it is in ways, that the next and the neareſt way is commonly the fouleſt; and that if a man will go the faireſt way, he muſt go ſomewhat about.*

Sitti

* He means land.

Sitting in a committee about invading Scot- Q. Mary
land, whereof Sir Anthony Brown then viſcount Mountacute preſented a draught, there aroſe as great a debate between him and my lord in council, as afterwards in the field, about the point of entrance; *nay*, ſaid my lord in the heat of the diſcourſe, with as much power on others paſſions, as command over his own, *We ſtand quarrelling here how we ſhall get* in, *but here is no diſcourſe how we ſhall get* out.

It's a rule, whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his perſon that doth induce contempt, hath alſo a perpetual ſpur in himſelf to reſcue and deliver himſelf from ſcorn, either by vertue or malice; and my lord having ſome diſadvantage from nature, made it up by art: none more bold, none more induſtrious and more ſucceſsful, becauſe that diſadvantage took off envy on the one hand, and jealouſie on the other: ſo that upon the matter, in a great wit, contempt is a great advantage to riſing.

Judge Brooke had a project againſt uſury, which came up to the lords houſe: this rich peer upon the firſt motion of it, ſtands up, and ſaith, *Shew me a ſtate without uſury, and I'll ſhew you a ſtate without men and trade.*

Rich he was for expence, and expend he did upon honour and good action: his ordinary expences were the third of his eſtate, and his extraordinary none of it; his rule being, extraordinary diſadvantages muſt be balanced with extraordinary advantages. He would not ſtoop to petty gains, but he would abridge petty charges: but his occaſions calling him often from his eſtate, turned it all to certainties; often changing his

Q. Mary his ſervants, who being unacquainted with him and his eſtate, were leſs ſubtil, and more timorous. Much behind-hand he was when he came to the eſtate, and as much before when he left it. Neither was he too ſudden or too ſlow in paying his debts; equally avoiding a diſadvantageous ſale on the one hand, and devouring intereſt on the other: and ſo inuring himſelf by degrees into a habit of frugality, he gained as well upon his mind, as upon his eſtate. For huſbanding the Engliſh treaſure in Scotland, he was knighted in the field, May 11, 34 H. 8. by the earl of Hertford: for the clauſe concerning Scotland, he put in at the treaty of Guiſnes, 35 H. 8. he was made baron by patent: for his diſcreet conduct in demanding the young queen of Scots, together with the performance of the articles made in Henry the eighth's time, with 60 ſail of ſhips before the battel of Muſcleborough, he had 600*l.* a year aſſigned him by the protector: for his great experience at ſea, his intereſt in ſea-men, and his renown among the neighbour-ſtates, he was made earl of Lincoln.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Barnaby Fitz-patrick.

Lion. BArnaby Fitz-patrick, had the honour of being king Edward the ſixth his proxy at ſchool, and one of his bed-chamber at court. In king Henry the eight's time he was ſent to ſchool in Edward the ſixth's to travel, where he had the

theſe directions following from that king, how he might learn faſhions there, and ſend intelligence hither. Q. Mary

EDWARD,

WE underſtand by your letters received the eighth of this preſent month, your good entertainment, being glad thereof; and alſo how you have been once to go on pilgrimage: wherefore we think fit to adviſe you to deſire leave to go to Mr. Pickering, or to Paris, in caſe hereafter any ſuch chance happen. And if that will not ſerve, to declare to ſome perſon of eſtimation, with whom you are beſt acquainted, that as you are loth to offend the French king by reaſon of his kind uſage of you; ſo with ſafe conſcience you cannot do any ſuch thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my laws: alſo that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you be vehemently procured, you may go as waiting upon the king, not as intending to the abuſe, nor willingly ſee the ceremonies: and ſo you look on the maſs, but in the mean time regard the ſcripture, or ſome good book, and give no reverence to the maſs at all.

Furthermore, remember when you may conveniently be abſent from the court, to tarry with ſir William Pickering, to be inſtructed by him how to uſe yourſelf. For women, as far forth as you can, avoid their company; yet if the French king command you, you may ſometime dance, ſo meaſure be your mean: and apply yourſelf to riding, ſhooting, tennis, or ſuch like games; not forgetting ſometimes (when you

Q. Mary *have leiſure) your learning, chiefly reading of the Scriptures. We would not have you live too ſumptuouſly as an ambaſſador, but ſo as your proportion of living may ſerve you, we mean, becauſe we know many will reſort to you, and deſire to ſerve you. I told you how many I thought convenient you ſhould keep. After you have ordered your things at Paris, go to the court, and learn to have more intelligence if you can; and after to the wars, to learn ſomewhat to ſerve us. By your letters of the ſecond and fifteenth of April, we perceive that you were at Nancy, ready to go together with Mr. Pickering to the French camp; and to the intent you might be better inſtructed how to uſe yourſelf in theſe wars, we have thought good to advertiſe you of our pleaſure therein. Firſt, we would wiſh you, as much as you may conveniently, to be in the French king's preſence, or at leaſt in ſome part of his army, where you ſhall perceive moſt buſineſs to be; and that for two cauſes: one is, becauſe you may have more experience in the wars, and ſee things as might ſtand you in ſtead another day: the other is, becauſe you might be more profitable in the language. For our embaſſador, who may not wear harneſs, cannot well come to thoſe places of danger, nor ſeem ſo to ſerve the French king, as you may, whom we ſent thither for that purpoſe. It ſhall be beſt for you therefore hereafter, as much as you may, to be with the French king, and ſo you ſhall be more acceptable to him, and do yourſelf much good. This I write, not doubting but you would have done it, though I had not written, but to ſpur you on.*

Adding withal, *To learn the tongue, to ſee manner of the court, and advertiſe his maſter of currences, keeping cloſe to the king of France whom he ſhall offer his ſervice in the wars,*

he is to obſerve the fortifications of the cities, the conduct of the armies, the advantages and diſadvantages of both parties; their ſkirmiſhes, battles, aſſaults, and the plots of the chief towns, where any enterprizes of weight have been done. His exerciſes were to be hunting and riding; his company few, but choice, &c. Q. Mary

This gentleman after his return out of France, was created by the king baron of Upper Oſſory in Ireland; where he dyed a good proteſtant, a publick-ſpirited patriot, and an honeſt man.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Fitz-Alane, *earl of* Arundel.

HIs firſt appearance in the world* was to *adorn* the court, his next was to *ſerve* it. Firſt his eſtate and train attends king Henry to the interview with France, and a while after his valour and conduct is commanded by him to the war. Lloyd.

Equally prepared is he to pleaſe and awe the countrey; the duke of Suffolk is made general for his popularity, and the earl of Arundel lord marſhal, for his ſpirit and prudence; and both being before Bulloign, this noble lord run up his ſquadron under a running ſhelter about eleven at night, to the very walls of the city; which being battered down by the canon, which was mounted ſome forty yards higher, opened to the

cloſe

* Anno H. 8. 14.

Q. Mary cloſe beſiegers a paſſage that gained the whole town by compoſition.

Neither was he leſs active in peace than war. A piercing apprehenſion, a ſtrong memory, a large and capacious judgment, a dexterous prudence, a diſcerning wiſdom, was the leaſt of his happineſs: for to his ſufficiency and capacity, he added a good diſpoſition and integrity: and to that, vigour and gracefulneſs. He was the excellent perſonage, that 1. diſcerned, 2. embraced and performed what was noble and publick: *(to know, to will and effect what is good, make up a God.)* to theſe were added a ſtrong nature, a deep ſtudy, and a very great experience; qualities ſeparated in others, but united in him: nature will out, education is rude; education without reſolution, is looſe; reſolution without experience is heady; experience grounded upon particular events, is uncertain without the ſtudy of general and immoveable principles: knowledge of things in their ſources and original cauſes, without nature, is a burden: all theſe without exerciſe are a notion.

This nobleman thus furniſhed, derived, much honor from his anceſtors, more to them; ennobling that blood to a glory, which ſome had debaſed to a bluſh. That great name after four hundred years ſhining in that honour with various luſtre, ſetting in him as the ſun he bore with a full ſplendour: the laſt effort of nature is a maſter-piece; the laſt blaze of the candle a ſhine.

Other noblemen were made king Edward's overſeers for their integrity; he one of his aſſiſtants for his ability: when an enemy was to be awed to a ſubmiſſion, he was general, ſuch his

fame

fame! When the countrey was to be obliged to Q. Mary a loan, he was agent, ſuch his popularity! The firſt advanced him to the comptrollerſhip under Henry the eighth; the ſecond to the Chamberlainſhip under Edward the ſixth.

Nature hath provided that ravenous beaſts ſhould not aſſociate, leſt they ſhould be too hard for it; and government, that prime counſellours ſhould not agree, leſt they overthrow it: Warwick envied the protectors greatneſs, and Arundel would limit his power: both with the reſt of the council declare againſt him. But leſt he ſhould urge the ſame things againſt Warwick that he did againſt Somerſet; they, who love the treaſon, but hate the traytor, turn him firſt out of favour, and then out of council, until queen Mary's time, when he as an antient nobleman of England, (that owned no upſtart deſigns againſt the old way of ſucceſſion) ſtood for her right, and as a ſtiff catholique promoted her religion: ſo that July 21, 1553, he came from the queen to Cambridge, where the duke of Northumberland was, and entring his chamber, the duke fell at his feet, deſiring him for God's ſake to conſider his caſe, who had done nothing but by warrant from the council: *My lord*, (ſaid the earl) *I am ſent hither by the queen to arreſt you. And I*, (ſaid the duke) *obey your arreſt, beſeeching your mercy for what I did by commiſſion. You ſhould have thought of that ſooner*, (ſaid the earl.) Here you might have ſeen at once the viciſſitude of fortune, the frailty of man, the dejectedneſs of guilt, the bravery of innocence, who would neither be trampled on by greatneſs, nor trample on miſery; of an equal temper between pity and reſolution.

Q. Mary

As long as his youth bore it, we find him for action; but when years came upon him, we find him in council, as with Wotton at the great treaty at Cambray: yet not ſo unactive, but that as ſir William Pickering for his ſweet demeaner, ſo he for his eſtate was voiced a huſband to queen Elizabeth.

When the reſt of the council were for dealing with the queen of Scots underhand and at diſtance, he was for treating with her plainly; and ſaid in the queen's preſence, *The wiſdom of the former age was ſo provident that it needed not, and ſo plain that it endured not ſhifts.* Leiceſter would perſwade the duke of Norfolk to court the queen of Scots, but Arundel would not hear of it without the queen of England's conſent; experience is always wary, yet hath its weakneſſes, wherein it may be ſurprized. For this nobleman's kindneſs to his friend, balancing his duty to his miſtreſs, brought him, the earl of Southampton, the lords Lumley, Cobham, Piercy, &c. to a præmunire: whereupon he ſaid, *He is never wiſe, that is not diſtruſtful.*

Fear, that betrayeth the ſuccours of reaſon, when predominant, guardeth them when moderate, and is more ſafe, though not ſo noble as that valiant confidence that bequeaths a dilated freedom to all faculties and ſenſes.

But of all his actions this is moſt remarkable: treating with the Scots, he writ to his majeſty king Henry the eighth, what he had gained already, requiring to know his further pleaſure: the king takes advice with his council, who all agree that the peace ſhould be concluded: Whereupon the king cauſed his ſecretary the lord Paget to write

to him to that purpoſe; but withal, he called mr. Cecil ſecretly to him, bidding him tell my lord, that *whatſoever he had written in his letter, yet with all ſpeed poſſible he ſhould break the treaty.* Mr. Cecil replying, *that a meſſage by word of mouth being contrary to his letter would never be believed*; *well* (ſaid the king) *do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his choice.* Upon mr. Cecil's arrival, the earl of Arundel ſhewed the other commiſſioners as well the meſſage as the letter; they are all for the letter; he ſaid nothing, but ordered that the meſſage ſhould be written before, and ſigned by his fellow commiſſioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, ſending Cecil with the advertiſement of it to the king; who as ſoon as he ſaw him, aſked aloud, *what! will he do it, or no?* Cecil replied, that his majeſty might underſtand that by the incloſed. But then the king half angry, urged, *nay tell me, will he do it or no?* being then told it was done, he turned to the lords and ſaid, *Now you will hear news, the fine treatie is broken*; whereto one preſently anſwered, *that he who had broke it deſerved to loſe his head*; to which the king ſtraitly replied, that *he would loſe a dozen ſuch heads as his was that ſo judged, rather than one ſuch ſervant as had done it*; and therewith commanded the earl of Arundel's pardon ſhould be preſently drawn up, the which he ſent with letters of thanks, and aſſurance of favour. Q. Mary

Five things muſt a ſtateſman comprehend.

1. The law.
2. The Government.
3. The

Q. Mary

3. The Time.
4. The people. And
5. The Prince.

Under an active prince, you muſt regard the prerogative; under an eaſie one, the law; under a compleat one made up of a juſt meaſure of greatneſs and goodneſs, thoſe two things are diſtinguiſhed onely in the nice diſcourſes of ſome *Speculativi*, being but one great rule in the ſolid actions of that prince.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Dudley *Duke of* Northumberland.

Lloyd. HIs favour was firſt purchaſed by his father's blood, and improved by his own cunning. King Henry ſacrificed ſir Edmund Dudley to allay the people's rage, and raiſed his ſon to appeaſe his ghoſt. He that diſobligeth a multitude muſt fall himſelf; *but he that in ſo doing ſerveth his king, may advance his poſterity.* Something high he was in the king's favour, becauſe ſtanding on his father's grave; but higher as he ſtood on his own merit. He knew his father's ſervice made his way to favour; his own education therefore muſt prepare him for employment. Favour without parts is a reproach; parts without favour are a burden. The king reſtored him to his father's blood, and his own induſtry recovered his abilities. There are thoſe that under the notion of wiſdom

wiſdome commit the greateſt folly, either in too much converſing with the world without; or in too much reflecting on themſelves within: Sir John was made up of both; ſome time he allowed for action, more for conſideration. *There is not any thing ſo prejudicial to action, as to be bent upon action without intermiſſion: for as the eye ſeeth not the objects touching it, but thoſe onely more remote, ſo the underſtanding continually plunged in affairs, is not ſo quick ſighted in occurrents, as his who ſometime retireth himſelf from publick action, beholding it aloof off by conſideration. In the heat and tumult of affairs, reaſon hath not that power as may give conduct and motion to active life: beſides, experience teacheth us, that the eye having loſt its quickneſs with too much looking upon the light, recovereth it again in the dark: the ſpirit in like manner dazled, weakened, tranſported and diſtracted among the multitude and variety of affairs, ought to recollect and recover its force in the privacy of ſome ſmall retreat*; which ſir John made to Italy, the ſeat of policy and experience; whence I pray God he brought no more (ſaith my author) than his cloſeneſs and reach. Q. Mary

His ſoveraign ſaw he deſerved honour, but ſaw not without offence to the populacy how to confer it, until the ſubtle youngſter ſhewed him a middle way, (upon the ſtrange death of the viſcount Liſle, who loſt his life for joy that it was ſaved) by petitioning for that honour as a favour, which upon his mother's account was his *right*: the crafty youth entered himſelf of the cardinal's retinue firſt, and then of the king's. Much was he employed by him at ſea, as an overſeer of the navy; more in the field, as director

Q. Mary director-general; moſt of all in the Romiſh and French court, as a ſpy. He was too good a proficient in his ſchool to fall with him, therefore we immeditely obſerve him riſing with Cromwel, until the king made him *Admiral*, and he with his 200 ſail upon the coaſt of Scotland made himſelf *renowned*; inſomuch that the king left him the next year viceroy of France, and deputy of Calice and Bulloign: where to revenge the French attempts upon the iſle of Wight, he drew his fleet up to the coaſts of Normandy; landed 6000 men at Treport, burned the ſuburbs of that town with the abby, deſtroyed 30 ſhips there in the haven, and then returned, not having loſt above fourteen perſons in the whole voyage: inſomuch that in a treaty between Ard and Guiſnes, wherein he was commiſſioner with the earl of Hertford, ſecretary Paget, and Dr. Wotton, the French were contented that we held Bulloign till they paid us 800000 crowns within the term of eight years. For the further eſtabliſhment whereof, he and the biſhop of Dureſm are employed to take oath of the French king and the Daulphine. His maſter Henry dieth, but not his deſigne with him: Norfolk is out of his way; Seymour will be ſo: he is now executor of king Henry's will, he will be of his own. But as nature, ſo policy works by degrees; firſt the graft, then the tree; after that, the bloſſome; next that, the fruit; firſt meaner eſſays, and then higher actions. There was nothing to be attempted at home, until we were ſecured and feared from abroad; he therefore leads the vauntguard againſt the Scots ſo ſucceſsfully, that he is made earl of Warwick. Here his ſpirit had

had enſnared him, had not his conduct brought him off. When the protector refuſed a combat as not becoming him, Warwick offered one: *Bring me word* (ſaid he to the herald that brought the protector a challenge from the lord Huntley) *that thy Maſter will perform the Combat with me, and thou ſhalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains.* But a publick conduct becomes a general better than perſonal valour; and he muſt ſo far onely remember he is a ſouldier, as not to forget he is a commander, and ſo a whole army too. Q. Mary

Againſt the rebels in Devonſhire ſo happy he was, that upon his diſcreet overture of pardon, (mercie is a vertue with valour, and but a weakneſs with cowardize) and coming in perſon to aſſure them of it, they ſaying, they *knew him ſo honourable, that if he came himſelf they would embrace it*; threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to mercie.

Againſt the French, that took the opportunity of thoſe turmoyls, he was ſo proſperous, that he ſent them home from Jerſey and Guernſey with the loſs of two thouſand men.

Honour he had enough, and power too, yet not what he aimed at; (our ſouls are infinite as in their duration, ſo in their capacity.) Ambition is like cholar, which is a humour that maketh men active, earneſt, full of alacrity and ſtirring, if it be not ſtopped; but if it be ſtopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh aduſt, and thereby malign and venemous; ſo aſpiring men, if progreſſive and ſucceſsful (their paſſage to advancement being clear) are rather active than perilous; but if curbed with ſome obſtructions, their

Q. Mary their ſecret diſcontent caſts an evil aſpect upon all perſons and actions, and becomes rather dangerous than ſerviceable.

This great earl's greater minde was uſefull, when proſperous abroad; but at home troubleſome, when finding a plain man in his way to height, great in his power, greater in his ſovereign's affections and greateſt of all in his knowing brother; whoſe ſpirit bare up his authority, as his authority ſupported *His* courage: in that * man's breaſt there was a prudence that could reach, and a ſtoutneſs that could balance this at once cloſe and fierce man.

Intereſt and blood united theſe brothers ſo ſtrongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practiſing on their wives, whoſe humours were above their intereſt, and fancy above their relation. Their precedence is made a queſtion at court, where it bred firſt a diſtance, and upon an interview contrived in this lord's houſe, a difference; that difference is improved to an animoſity, (he can do little that cannot blow up a ſpark in a woman's breaſt to a flame) that animoſity to malice, and malice cannot dwell long in thoſe weaker breaſts without a miſchief; miſchief they cannot do themſelves:) the ivy cleaves to the oak, and theſe women to their huſbands; though both ruine the thing they cling to:) what ſuggeſtions! what inſinuations! what petty fears and jealouſies! what little tales and paſſions! Yet *continual droppings wear a Stone:* the womens diſcords derive themſelves into the huſbands hearts, until the admiral falls, and leaves the protector to his own integrity: whoſe large truſt and

* Viz. The Lord Thomas Seymour.

and infinite buſineſs could not but bewray him to ſome errour, as his great power did to much envy, that firſt diveſted him of that power, and then of his life. Q. Mary

There is not a more admirable wiſdom directing the contrarieties of nature to an harmony, than there is a cloſe reach in ſome men to reconcile variety of humours, affections, oppoſitions, rancounters, events and changes to one deſign. The protector's eaſineſs is betrayed to confidence; his too late fears, to a confidence at firſt, and at laſt to irregularities: the hopes of ſome were encouraged, the grievances of others were aggravated and pitied, the envy of a third part was excited, and he the ſoul in all and every part of the action. *The Protector was free-ſpirited, open hearted, humble, hard to diſtruſt, eaſy to forgive: The Earl was proud, ſubtile, cloſe, cruel and implacable*; *and therefore it was* * impar congreſſus *between them, almoſt with as much diſadvantage as between a naked and armed perſon.* Two nets are laid to take the protector; the one breaks, the other holds: the treaſon was onely to give a report, the felony for deſigning the death of the earl of Warwick a privy counſellour, did the execution.

He being removed out of the way, this earl of Warwick, as his predeceſſor, meditates the honour of king-making. To this purpoſe he joyns himſelf by alliance to the beſt families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greateſt truſts; particularly (what ſir Richard Baker ſaith had been better if it had never been) his ſon Robert (afterward Earl of Leiceſter) was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen of the king's

* An unequal conteſt.

Q. Maryking's chamber: upon which particular the foreſaid hiſtorian obſerveth, *That after his coming into a place ſo near him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.* The duke of Somerſet is trained by his enemies to ſuch fears and jealouſies, as tranſport him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, abed; where being received with much kindeneſs, his heart relented, and he came off * *re infecta.* At his coming out, one of his company aſked him if he had done the deed? he anſwered *No.* Then ſaid he, *You are your ſelf undone.* And indeed it ſo fell out: for when all other accuſations were refelled, this onely ſtuck by him, and could not be denyed; and ſo he was found guilty by a ſtatute of his own procurement, *viz.*

That if any ſhould attempt to kill a Privy-Councellour, although the fact were not done, yet it ſhould be Felony, and to be puniſhed with death.

This, notwithſtanding many divertiſements uſed, went ſo near the conſumptive king's heart, that he prepares for death. The duke now within ken of his deſign, conſidering the king's affection for reformation, the lords and other purchaſers kindneſs for church-lands, the judges fear, the courtier's compliance, carried on a will with a high hand, (trembling with anger, ſaith judge Mountague, if any oppoſed him; yea, ſaying, *That he would fight in his Shirt, with any that contradicted it)* wherein the crown was beſtowed on Jane Grey, his fourth ſon's wife, (the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth being laid aſide.)

But

But he forgot (as what man, though never ſo reaching, can conſider all things?) that there is an inviſible power in *Right*, that there is a natural antipathy in Engliſh men againſt uſurpation, and as great an inclination for the ſucceſſion: *A Point they had conned ſo well of late out of the Statute made for that purpoſe, that they could not well be put out of it by this new-ſtarted Deſigne.* The people ſtand by queen Mary: the council notwithſtanding their engagement to ſtand by him at his going away, (when he obſerved in Shore-ditch that the people gazed on him, but bid him not *God ſpeed*; and he told the lords, *They might purchaſe their ſafety with his ruine.* To which one of the lords replyed, *Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be: for which of us all can waſh his hands clear of this buſineſs?*) proclaimed the queen at London, as he doth at Cambridge; where yet the earl of Arundel (who offered his life at his feet when he marched out: O the viciſſitudes of this lower world?) arreſts him reſolutely, and he ſubmits weakly, firſt to an impriſonment, and then to a tryal and execution. Q. Mary

The firſt night he came to Cambridge, all the Doctors ſupped with him; and Doctor Sandys is appointed to preach before him next day. The Doctor late at night betakes himſelf to his Prayers and Study, deſiring God to direct him to a fit Text for that time. His Bible opened at the firſt of Joſhua, *and (though he heard no voice with St.* Auguſtine, *ſaying,* * Tolle & lege) *a ſtrong fancy inclined him to fix on the firſt words he beheld*, v. 16. And they anſwered Joſhua, ſaying, All that thou commandeſt us we will do; and whither-

* Take it up and read.

Q. Mary whitherſoever thou ſendeſt, we will go: *A Text he ſo wiſely and warily handled, that his Enemies got not ſo full advantage againſt him as they expected.*

*The next day the Duke advanced to Bury with his army, whoſe feet marched forward while their minds moved backward. Upon the news brought him, he returned to Cambridge, with more ſad thoughts within him, than valiant Souldiers about him. Then went he with the Mayor of the Town, and proclaimed the Queen; the Beholders whereof more believing the grief in his eyes when they let down tears, than the joy profeſſed by his hands when he threw up his cap. Slegge Serjeant at Arms arreſts him in King's-Colledge; and when the Proclamation of Pardon ſet him at liberty, the earl of Arundel re-arreſts him, at whoſe feet he craves mercy; a low poſture in ſo high a perſon! But what more poor and proſtrate than Pride it ſelf, when reduced to extremity? Behold we this Duke as the Mirrour of Humane Unhappineſs!**

As Nevil earl of Warwick was the make-king, *ſo this Dudley Earl of Warwick was the* make-queen. *He was Chancellour of the Univerſity, and Steward of the Town of Cambridge; two offices which never before or ſince met in the ſame perſon.*

Thus as Cambridge was his Verticle Poynt, wherein he was in the heighth of Honour: ſo it was his Vertical, where he met with a ſuddain turn, and a ſad Cataſtrophe. And it is remarkeable, that though this Duke (who by all means endeavoured to aggrand his Poſterity) had ſix ſons, all men, all married, *none of them left any iſſue behind*

* Hiſt. Camb. p. 131.

behind them. Thus far better it is to found our hopes of even earthly happineſs on *Goodneſs*, than *Greatneſs*. *Thus far the* Hiſtorian. Q. Mary

It was Lewis the eleventh's motto, *Pride and Preſumption go before, Shame and Loſs follow after.* In three ſorts of men ambition is good:

1. In a ſouldier, to quicken him.
2. In favourites, to balance others.
3. In great ſtates-men, to undertake invidious employments: *For no man will take that part except he be like a ſeeled Dove, that mounts and mounts becauſe he cannot ſee about him.* And in theſe men it's ſafe if they are mean in their original, harſh in their nature, ſtirring in many little, rather than in any *great* buſineſs. Greater in his own intereſt than in his followers. Humility ſojourneth with ſafety and honour, pride with danger and unworthineſs. No man below an anointed one, is capable of an unlimited power; a temptation too great for mortality, whoſe higheſt intereſt if indulged, is *Self*; and if checked, *Malice.* Dangerous is the *Power* of an aſpiring perſon near a prince, more dangerous his *Diſguiſe*, as who acts all things againſt his maſter by his authority.

Let no man upon this example ever repoſe ſo much upon any man's ſingle counſel, fidelity or diſcretion, as to create in himſelf or others a diffidence of his own judgment, which is likely to be moſt faithfull and true to a man's own *Intereſt.* Let every man have ſome things that no man ſhall obtain, and ſomethings that no man muſt dare aſk; becauſe you ſee here, if we let all go without reſerve, our reputation is loſt in

Q. Mary the world by the reputation our favourite gains with us.

There was in Rome a certain man named Enatius, ſomewhat entred in age, and of natural condition mutinous, ambitious, and troubleſome: Adrian being advertiſed that he was dead, fell into a great laughter, and ſware, that he could not but wonder he could intend to die, conſidering what great buſineſs he had night and day; conſidering how many affairs he had to manage, how many croſs accidents to accommodate, I wonder what time he had to die: and conſidering his many pretences for the proteſtant religion, eſpecially that for king Edward's, I wonder with what face he could die a papiſt.

But I have forgot my ſelf: for there are two ſorts of perſons in *Machiavel* that muſt either not believe, or not profeſs any religion: the firſt, the ſtates-man, that acts in publick affairs; the ſecond, the hiſtorian, that writes them.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Peter.

Lloyd. HE was born in that great nurſery of parts Devonſhire; and bred in a greater, Exeter-Colledge. That colledge made him a ſcholar, and All-Souls a man. His capacity was contemplative, and his genius active: obſerving, rather than reading; with his eye more on men, than books; ſtudying behaviour, rather than notion;

notion; to be accompliſhed, rather than know- Q. Mary
ing? and not to erre in the main, rather than to
be excellent in circumſtance. His body ſet off his parts with a grave dignity of preſence, rather than a ſoft beauty of aſpect: his favour was more taking than his colour, and his motion more than favour; and all ſuch, as made his early vices bluſh, and his riper vertues ſhine.

The earl of Wiltſhire firſt pitched upon him for his ſons tutor, and then for his own companion. *Noble Families ſet off hopeful Parts, and improve them.*

Cromwel's quick eye one day at my lord's, ſpyeth his perſonage, and obſerves his carriage. *(He was a man himſelf, and underſtood one.)* Nothing would ſatisfie him, but that the young gentleman ſhould come to court, and go to travel. King Henry loved any *All-ſouls* man; but was enamoured with him, in whom concurred the three perquiſites of that ſociety.

1. A gentle extraction.
2. A graceful behaviour.
3. Competent learning.

The young man deſigned for buſineſſe, was to travel for education, and the ſcholar for experience.

1. His penſion is allowed him, 125*l.* a year.
2. His tutor is aſſigned, who had been there before, and could inſtruct him what he ſhould ſee, where he ſhould go, what acquaintance to entertain, what exerciſe or diſcipline to undergo.
3. His inſtructions were drawn up: as,

1. That he ſhould keep a diary of what the chiefeſt places and the eminent perſons, either

Q. Mary apart or in conventions, yielded worthy of remarque and obſervation.

2. To have before him a map or card of every place he goeth to.

3. Not to ſtay long in any one place.

4. To converſe with no Engliſhman but agents, embaſſadors, or ſuch grave perſons as his majeſty would direct him to.

5. To endeavour after recommendations from perſons of quality in one place, to thoſe in another; keeping ſtill his correſpondence with the moſt publick and eminent perſons of every reſpective place.

Within five years he returned a compleat gentleman, correcting the vices of one country with the virtues of another; and being one happy compoſition of every region. Sir John Philpot was not ſo much the worſe, as Sir William was the better for travel; he returning to the ſhame of all nations; of his own, by his weakneſs abroad; of others, by their follies at home: this coming home the honour of his own by his abilities abroad, of others by his perfections at home.

Two things improved his travel:

1. An artificial and careleſs freedome, that opened others.

2. A natural gravity, that ſhut him up, and was more capable of obſerving their vertues, and eſcaping their vices.

Peter earl of Savoy came to do his homage to Otho the fourth in a double attire; on the one ſide cloth of gold, on the other ſhining armour: the emperour aſked him what meant that lindſey-woolſey?

woolſey? he anſwered, *Sir, 'the attire on the right ſide is to* honour *your Majeſty, that on the left is to* ſerve *you.* Sir William Peter returns with thoſe gayeties of carriages on the one hand that might adorn a court, and with thoſe abilities on the other that might ſupport it. His firſt employment was the charts, the latin letters, and the forreign negotiation; the next, was principal ſecretary: in which office, Wriotheſly was rough and ſtubborn, Paget eaſie, Cecil cloſe, Mason plain, Smith noble; Peter was ſmooth, reſerved, reſolved, and yet obliging. Both the laws he was doctor of, and both the laws he made uſe of; the civil law to direct foreign negotiations, and the other to give light to domeſtick occaſions. Q. Mary

In the king's abſence in France 1554, Cranmer and Thorleby are to aſſiſt the queen in matters of religion, the earl of Hertford in affairs of war, the lord Parr of Horton, and doctor Peter, in the civil government; (whoſe maxime it was, *It is the intereſt of the Kings of England to be the Arbiters of Chriſtendome.)* Thus much he was to the queen by Henry the eighth's deputation, and no leſs to king Edward by his will.

A man would wonder how this man made a ſhift to ſerve four princes of ſuch diſtant intereſts as king Henry, king Edward, queen Mary, queen Elizabeth; until he recollects the French king, who enquired of a wiſe man how he might govern himſelf and his kingdome? the wiſe man took a fair large ſheet of paper, and inſtead of an infinite number of precepts, which others uſe to offer upon that ſubject, he onely writ this

Q. Mary word, *Modus*, *A Mean*. In king Henry's time he obſerved his humour, in king Edward's he kept to the law, in queen Mary's he intended wholly ſtate-affairs, and in queen Elizabeth's he was religious, his years minding him of death, and his death of his faith. He moved with the firſt movers in moſt tranſactions to his *apparent* danger, yet he had motions of his own for his *real* ſecurity. Able he was at home, and very dexterous abroad; particularly at Bulloin. The philoſophers exerciſing their gifts before an ambaſſador, he aſked one that was ſilent what he ſhould ſay of him? *Report to your King* (ſaith he) *that you found one among the Græcians that knew how to hold his tongue. Ah*, (ſaid Monſieur Chatillon) *we had gained the laſt* 200000 *Crowns without Hoſtages, had it not been for the man that ſaid nothing*, (meaning ſecretary Peter.)

Neither was he better at keeping his own counſel, than at diſcovering other mens, as appeared by the intelligence he had, that the emperour had ſent ſhips to tranſport the lady Mary into Germany, in caſe the king would not allow her the practice of her religion, (though three men knew not that deſigne in the German court) whereupon he fetched her to Leez; and thence, under the notion of preparing for ſea-matters, he ſent over five thouſand pounds to relieve the proteſtants.

Active he was about the will in compliance with his duty to king Edward, but as nimble in his intelligence ſuitable to his allegiance to queen Mary; whom he aſſiſted in two particulars: 1. In making the match: 2. In ſearching the bottom of Wiat's inſurrection: therefore,

1. When

1. When the church-lands went againſt her conſcience, ſir William Peter muſt be ſent for. Q. Mary

2. When the pope ſent another legate to turn out Pool, he muſt be ſent for; (who adviſed her to forbid him this land, as ſhe very reſolutely did.)

As ſerviceable was he to queen Elizabeth, till his age not being able to go through the difficulties, and his conſcience being impatient of the ſeverities of thoſe buſie and harſh times, he retired to Eſſex, where his eſtate was great, and his charity greater: both which he bequeathed his ſon John, who was by king James made baron of Writtle in that county.

Obſervations on the Life of Cardinal Pool.

HIS extraction was ſo high, that it awakened king Henry the eighth's jealouſies; and his ſpirit ſo low, that it allayed it: when he reflected on his royal * relation, he was enjealouſied to hard thoughts of reſtraint and ſecurity; when he obſerved his modeſt hopefulneſs, he was obliged to thoſe more mild of education and care, as more honourable than the other, and as ſafe: religion and ſtudy would enfeeble that ſpirit to quiet contemplation, which more manlike exerciſes might ennoble for buſineſs and action. Lloyd.

It

* His Mother was Daughter to the Duke of Clarence, and Grandchild to Edward the IV.

Q. Mary It was but mewing him up in a ſtudy in hopes of a *Mitre*, and there would be no danger of his ambition to the *Crown*. The privacies of the ſchool and colledge made him a ſtranger to the tranſactions of court; and he was to follow his book, that he might not underſtand himſelf.

His preferments were competent to content him, and yet but mean to expoſe him.

Three things concurred to his eſcape from king Henry's toyl.

1. His relation's ambition, that could not endure he ſhould be wrapped in black, that was born to be clothed in purple.

2. His own inclination to adde experience to his learning.

3. The king's policy to maintain him abroad, who could not ſafely keep at home.

No ſooner arriveth he at Paris, than the Pope careſſeth him as a perſon fit to promote his intereſt: the houſe of York ſupports him, as one that kept up their claim; and the general diſcontent crieth him up as one that was now the hope of England, and might be its relief.

That he might not come ſhort of their expectation, or his own right, his large capacity takes in the learning of moſt univerſities, obſerveth the way of moſt nations, and keeps correſpondence with all eminent men: the firſt of theſe improved his learning, the ſecond his experience, the third his converſe.

The marqueſs of Exeter, the lord Mountacute, ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Edward Nevil, ſir Geoffery Poole, would have made him a king, (but to gain him a *Crown*, they loſt their own *Heads)* and pope Julius made him a king's fellow;

low; but he was never head of this church ſince Q. Mary he put the red hat on this cardinal.

The king had him declared for a traytor in England, and he him excommunicated for an heretick at Rome. His friends are cut off by the king at home, and the king's enemies cheriſhed by him abroad.

But princes are mortal, though their hatred not ſo: for before the king's death, he would needs be reconciled to Pool, and as ſome thought, by him to Rome; wherefore he ſends to him now in great eſteem in Italy, deſiring his opinion of his late actions clearly, and in few words: glad was Pool of this occaſion to diſpatch to him his book * *de unione Eccleſiarum*, inveighing againſt his ſupremacy, and concluding with an advice to Henry to reconcile himſelf to the catholick church, and the pope as head thereof. Our king having peruſed this, and knowing it could not lie hid in Italy (though Pool had promiſed not to publiſh it) ſends for him by poſt to come into England, to explain ſome paſſages thereof: but Pool knowing that it was declared treaſon there to deny the king's ſupremacie, refuſed; deſiring the king neverthelefs in letters to him and Tonſtal, to take hold of the preſent time, and redintegrate himſelf with the pope; whereby he might ſecure his authority, and advance it with the honour of being the cauſe of a reformation of the church in doctrine and manners.

King Edward is king of England, and the cardinal like to be pope of Rome, keeping pace with the royal family; he head of the church catholick, they of that in England: but king Ed.

* On the Union of the Churches.

Q. Mary Edward's weakneſs of body ſuffered him not long to enjoy his throne, and the cardinal's narrowneſs and eaſineſs of ſpirit ſuffered him not at all to ſit in his chair.

For upon Paul the third's death, the cardinals being divided about the election, the imperial part, which was the greateſt, gave their voice for cardinal Pool; which being told him, he diſabled himſelf, and wiſhed them to chuſe one that might be moſt for the glory of God, and good of the church. Upon this ſtop, ſome that were now friends to Pool, and perhaps looked for the place themſelves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; among other things, that he was not without ſuſpicion of Lutheraniſm, nor without blemiſh of incontinence: but he cleared himſelf ſo handſomely, that he was now more importuned to take the place than before, and therefore one night (they ſay) the cardinals came to him being in bed, and ſent word they came to adore him, (a circumſtance of the new pope's honour) but he being waked out of his ſleep and acquainted with it, made anſwer, that *this was not a work of darkeneſs, and therefore requir'd them to forbear until next day, and then do as God ſhould put in their minds.* But the Italian cardinals attributing this put-off to a kind of ſtupidity and ſloth in Pool, looked no more after him, but the next day choſe cardinal Montanus pope, who was afterwards named Julius the third.

I have heard of many that would have been popes, but could not; I write this man one that could have been one, but would not.

But

But though he would not be pope of Rome, Q. Mary yet when Mary was queen, he was one of England; where he *was Legate*, and if it had not been for the emperour, *had been King*: for as ſoon as ſhe was in the throne of England, he was ſent for out of Italy into the chair of Canterbury; but Charles the emperour, by the pope's power, ſecretly retarded his return, fearing it might obſtruct the propounded marriage between his ſon and the queen. Indeed the queen bare the cardinal an unfeigned affection for ſix reaſons:

1. For his grave and becoming preſence, that endeared him no leſs to thoſe that ſaw him, than his parts and prudence did to thoſe that converſed with him: the diamond is then orient, when ſet in gold.

2. For his diſpoſition, as calm as her majeſties, and as meek as his profeſſion.

3. For his age: being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the philoſopher between huſband and wife.

4. For alliance: ſhe being daughter to Henry the eighth, and he grandchild to Edward the fourth.

5. For his education with her, under his mother.

6. For his religion, for which he was an exile, ſhe was a priſoner, and both confeſſors.

But now when the marriage with prince Philip was conſummated, Pool at laſt got leave for England; and to wipe away all ſuſpition of *Lutheraniſm*, wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a *cruel*, that he might be believed a

cor-

Q. Mary *cordial papiſt: * For meeting in Brabant with Emanuel Tremelius, requeſting ſome favour from him, he not only denied him relief, but returned him rayling terms; though formerly he was not only his very familiar friend, but his godfather too, when of a Jew he turned Chriſtian. Arrived in England, (as the hiſtorian goeth on) he was firſt ordained prieſt, being but deacon before, and then conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury, the queen being preſent at Bow; where rich in coſtly robes, and ſitting on a guilded throne, his pall was preſented to him: adorned, he preſently mounts the pulpit, and makes a* dry ſermon *of the uſe and honour of the pall, without either language or matter; all admiring the jejuneſs of his diſcourſe, as if putting off his parts, when putting on his Pall.*

He made the breach formerly between England and Rome, by exaſperating both ſides: he now reconciles it, obliging many by his carriage, awing as many by his preſence, dazling all by his pomp and ſplendour. Now he confirmeth the inſtitution of clergy-men into their benefices; he legitimateth the children of forbidden marriages; he ratifieth the proceſſes and ſentences in matters eccleſiaſtical; and his diſpenſations were confirmed by act of parliament.

Two things he was intent upon:

1. The church-privileges; whereof one the procured was, that the clergy ſhould not ſhew their horſes with the layty, but under captains of their own chuſing.

2. The Spaniſh intereſt; and therefore Paul the fourth, who was as intent upon the French, and looked upon the legate as the principal promoter of the laſt war in France, ſends cardinal Peito to eaſe him of his legantine power in England.

land. But the queen ſo ordered the matter, that Q. Mary by her prerogative ſhe prohibited Peito entrance into England, and got the aforeſaid power eſtabliſhed and confirmed on cardinal Pool, as ſhe did likewiſe 1000 *l.* a year for his better ſupport out of the biſhoprick of Wincheſter. The more he lived in England, the more he was Italianized; converſing with their merchants, and practiſing their thrift; his pomp being (ſaith my author) rather gaudy than coſtly, and his attendance more ceremonious than expenſive. Fearfull he was of a bank here, (if queen Mary died) careful of one beyond ſea if he lived: therefore as he ſends all his eſtate to Italy by his will when he died, ſo he did moſt of it by bills of exchange while he lived: the firſt was judged his policy, (the heart whereof is prevention) the ſecond his gratitude, beſtowing his ſuperfluities on them who had relieved his neceſſities. Of all his eſtate, Aloiſius Priol took but the breviary he had alwayes in his pocket, ſo devout he was, and the diary he had always in his cloſet, ſo exact he was to obſerve what was done by others, and recollect what had eſcaped himſelf! Die he did not of Italian phyſick wilfully taken by himſelf, as Mr. Fox ſuggeſts; nor of Engliſh poiſon, given him by the proteſtants, as Oſorius affirms; but of a *Quartain* ague, then epidemical in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that diſeaſe. This man was a catholick in his intereſt and charity, and a proteſtant in his conſcience. *We cannot* (was his ſaying) *give too much to God's grace, nor too little to our own merits.* He ſaid when he came to England, *I came hither not to condemn, but reconcile; not to compel, but deſire.*

He

Q. Mary He would burn the aſhes of one or two proteſtants when dead, to avoid the ſuſpition of hereſie; but the bodies of none when alive, to contract the real guilt of cruelty. In council found were his debates for the main; circumſpect his ſuggeſtions of circumſtances; reaching his foreſight of conſequences; wary his precautions of Impediments; moderate and ſoft his advices; prompt and ſteady his expeditions; happy his memory; many his obſervations; large his reading; ſtrong his ſpirit; ſolid his judgment; ſharp his apprehenſion, fluent, but weighed; full, but pertinent: grave, but quick his diſcourſe: what he pronounced, was a decree with queen Mary: what he ſaid was law with king Philip: his naked propoſition was demonſtration: his word reaſon, fetched from the principles of things, and grounded on their cauſes. His modeſty never ſued for greatneſs, though that ſued for him: for great men he ſaid were ſlaves to ſix things: 1. To mens humours; 2. To buſineſs; 3. To fortune; 4. To their own followers; 5. To fame; and, 6. To the publick. I will ſay no more of him, but that *modeſty undoeth a maid*, and is the fool only that puts vertue out of countenance. Baſhfulneſs is at beſt but a weak and treacherous vertue.

Q. Mary

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Ruſſel.

HIS name and his valour is as ancient as the conqueſt; vertue flowing in every age of that family with its honour and worth, keeping pace with their advancements. In every man that we meet with, there are three things that immediately offer themſelves to our conſideration: Lloyd.

1. The mind.
2. The behaviour. And
3. The perſon.

His mind was befriended by nature with a quickneſs and a capaciouſneſs, helped by publick education to a ſolidity and ſtayedneſs, improved in travel by obſervation, and raiſed by the ſlow, but happy degrees of his preferments to ſkill and experience. *They had need be ſlow and wary in that place where there is no failing the ſecond time, the firſt errour being irremediable*; therefore well ordered policy imitateth nature, which worketh ſlowly, and ſtep by ſtep, cauſing the blade to come from the grain, the tree from the graft, the bloſſom from the tree, and the fruit from the bloſſom: ſo (ſaith my author) ought policy to raiſe great perſons from one degree to another; to the end, that having made their eſſays in meaner matters, they may finiſh their maſter-

Q. Mary maſter-pieces in more eminent affairs. 2. He that demeans himſelf well, is ever uſhered in by a friend that recommends him to the company that knew him not.

Sir John had a *moving* beauty that waited on his whole body, as that ſtanding one doth upon the face and complexion: ſuch a grace and comelineſs waited on his noble mein, as exacted a liking, if not a love from all that beheld him.

A midling clarity and quickneſs is beſt in wine, that is, neither too thick upon the lees, nor yet too quick: our knight's comportment and carriage was neither dull nor vapouring, neither groſs nor affected, but of a becoming temper, at equal diſtance with the clown and the pedant, what's contemptible, and what's invidious. 3. But both theſe were ſet off with his perſon, of a middle ſtature, neither tall to a formidableneſs, nor ſhort to a contempt: ſtraight and proportioned, vigorous and active, with that pure blood and ſpirits that flowed and flowered within his ſwelling veins, and diſpoſed him to theſe natural and innocent, thoſe manly and noble exerciſes of dancing, &c. Dancing, I ſay, which he was not exquiſite in, for that is vanity: nor ignorant of, for that's meaneſs; but a graceful exerciſe, (wherein he were careleſly eaſie, as if it were rather natural motion, than curious and artificial practiſing) which endeared his ſeverer vertues to that place where the worth that riſeth muſt be complaiſant and pleaſing, as well as ſerviceable and uſeful. But the favour which proceeds from perſonal grace and comelineſs, although it ſeem to be doubly united, yet it is that which is ſooneſt diſſolved and diſſipated, there being nothing ſo inconſtant as

mens

mens humours, which not onely change through ages, but alſo by ſome ſmall occaſion or accident which may ariſe: Sir John therefore brought himſelf into court by what humoured, but kept himſelf in there by thoſe things that did oblige him; and ſtood not upon his majeſties pleaſure but his intereſt; adding to his more aiery courtſhips, more ſolid employments. From the ſofter court therefore we muſt follow him to the camp, and that before Terwyn, where we finde him daring and active. 1. In ſkirmiſhing the French every day; 2. In recovering the red gun overthrown in a ſally from 10000 French, under the earl St. Paul as general, with 250 reſolute reformades under himſelf but captain; although he was once taken priſoner, as before Calice, where he redeemed himſelf from the officer that had taken him for 250 crowns, on condition he would conduct him ſafe from the French quarter, as the man did, until they were gone ſo far, that ſir John takes him priſoner, compelling him to the reimburſement of his money, with 200 crowns more, to be beſtowed on the common ſouldiers. As ſeverely active was he at the ſiege of Tournay, as the oldeſt ſouldier; and yet as innocently pleaſant at the maſk there, as the youngeſt courtier. One of the ſixty he was that went with the king to cut off the paſſage between that city and the army, and one of the eleven that went with his majeſty to entertain the ladies at Liſle. From ſerving one king in France, he had the honour as it was thought to kill another in England, (I mean James of Scotland) and challenge a third in Paris. The ſame thing raiſed him, that advanced Wolſey: for he being ſent to Q. Mary

Q. Mary Maximilian, (after treaſurer Naphant had brought him to court) diſpatched his buſineſs ſo ſoon, that the king chid him for not being gone, when he was returned; and withal aſked him, whether he had ſeen the poſt that he had ſent after him about a circumſtance that had eſcaped him? He anſwered, he met him in his return; but he had preſumed to adde that particular of his own head, for which he aſked his majeſties pardon, and had his favour too for the deanery of Lincoln, and the almonerſhip. Sir John was commanded with 1500 men to cut off the convoy to Terwyn: which he performed with that ſpeed and ſucceſs that when the king ſaw him, he ſaid, *I, I, ſir John, while we are fooling, the town is relieved.* *So it is indeed,* (ſaid he) *for I have ſent them* 2000 *carcaſes, and they have ſpared me* 1200 *wagons of proviſion.* *I but,* ſaid the king, *I ſent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban.* *That,* replyed the knight, *was the firſt thing I did: wherefore I am upon my knees for your majeſties grace and pardon.* *Nay then,* (ſaid the king), *by Lady, thou haſt not my pardon, but my favour too.* "He is the man for a prince's "ſervice, whoſe minde is preſent, and prudence "is ready to meet with ſuddain occaſions, and "accommodate unexpected emergencies." The firſt effect of that favour, was his nomination for one of the ſixteen that anſwered the French challenge at the lady Mary's marriage, at Paris, November 7, 1513, which ſhewed his manhood, and how valiant he was. The ſecond was, that he was one of the forty five that were to be about his majeſty at the inſtant of his interview with the king of France at Guiſnes; which was an argument of his preſence, and how goodly a man he was.

was. The third was, that he was one of the twenty two that with the earl of Surrey lord admiral, and ſir William Fitz-Williams Vice-admiral, propoſed that ſecret, and therefore ſucceſsful deſigne upon Britain, under pretence of *ſcowring the narrow ſeas*, (for now he is as good in the ſea as he had been in the field) for which he and eight more of his fellow captains, ſir John Cornwallis, &c. are knighted by the aforeſaid lord admiral: which ſpeaks him a ſeaman, and indeed one of a general capacity. The fourth was, the great truſt his majeſty repoſed in him, when he was ſent in diſguiſe to widen the difference that was newly broken out between the duke of Bourbon, the high conſtable of France, and the French king; which he managed ſo well, that the diſcontented duke declares for the emperour and the king of England, to the great encouragement of the Engliſh, the ſatisfaction of his majeſty, and the ſucceſs of his deſigne upon Anchor, Boungard, Bray, and other places, where ſir John ſhewed himſelf as active now, as he was before cunning, as much ſurpaſſing the French ſpirit in action, as he had over-reached their prudence in negotiation. Q. Mary

But in vain was it to ſerve that king, unleſs a man obliged the cardinal, (he that courts the Virgin Mary muſt not neglect her little ſaints) him he attended in his ſecond journey to France, firſt to honour, and then to ſerve him. And now after his deceaſe, when king Henry had done the work of mercy (which was moſt proper for himſelf, as being moſt popular) upon the Lincolnſhire rebels, he deputed the duke of Suffolk, ſir Francis Brians and ſir John Ruſſel to

Q. Mary perform that of juſtice, which is moſt diſtaſtful: wherein yet he behaves himſelf with that exactneſs, that the country was very well pleaſed, and the king as well ſatisfied; inſomuch that we find our knight now called from a commander in the field, to be controller at court: where he managed his maſter's expences thriftily, reduced his family diſcreetly, reformed his followers effectually, and filled up his place with the awe of his preſence, and the influence of his authority, that he was at once its ſupport and its glory. Indeed courts being thoſe epitomes where-through ſtrangers look into kingdomes, ſhould be royally ſet off as with utenſils, ſo with attendance, that might poſſeſs all comers with reverence there, and fear elſewhere.

His perſon graced his imployment, and therefore his majeſty honoured his perſon with the order of the garter, and the title of lord Ruſſel; and that his preferment might keep pace with his honour, he is made lord privy ſeal, and his nephew ſir John Cage, controller. His honour ſlacked not his activity, but improved it; neither was his vertue onely violent in ambition, and dull in authority. Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aſpiring: therefore my lord to his *ſtaff*, added his ſword; and to his court-honour, his field-ſervice, as lieutenant-general before Muſtrel, and marſhal before Bulloign; to the relief of the firſt whereof, he drew monſieur * Bies, that his majeſty might take the ſecond. In the camp he drew up the deſigns, in the field he managed the treaſure, and in action to him was intruſted the conduct and manage. In the king's laſt

* Governor of Bies.

laſt will and teſtament he was the fifth perſon, and in his ſon's council the fifth; to whom he diſcovered a French plot the *firſt* year of his reign, and for whom he broke the Devonſhire rebels, what with delays, what with ſtratagems, to divide them according to their ſeveral inclinations, the *ſecond*, for which ſervice he was made earl of Bedford: the third, in the faction at home between the Seymours and the Dudleys, he was neuter: in the treaties abroad between the French king and his majeſty of England, he was principal; where he obſerved three rules: 1. That there ſhould be a general muſter at home while this treaty went on abroad. 2. That there ſhould be a blow given the Scots before there was a peace made with the French. 3. That we ſhould firſt know the French overtures before we made our own. Q. Mary

But while he was here, he diſcovered a plot that the emperour had to tranſport the lady Mary over to his dominions, and thereby bring her brother to his terms: whereupon he with 200 men watched one port, the duke of Somerſet with 200 more a ſecond, and maſter St. Leiger with 400 men a third, while the lady was fetched by my lord chancellor to the king. But while he was ſerving his maſter the king abroad, his friend the protector wanted his advice and aſſiſtance at home, he being of purpoſe ſent out of the way, while that unfortunate duke is firſt betrayed by his own folly, and then ruined by his enemies power. I finde his hand among the reſt of the councellors in a letter to queen Mary, but not in arms againſt her. He was concluded by the major vote to a commiſſion for peace, but not

Q. Mary not *to action* for conſcience ſake. Faithful he is therefore to her in council, and ſerviceable in Spain and France; from the firſt of which places he brought her a huſband, and from the ſecond a treaſure. He underſtood her right, and diſputed not her religion: regarding not ſo much her opinion, as his own duty; not what ſhe was, but what he ſhould be. And thus he behaved himſelf, until his dear miſtreſs Elizabeth took him for one of her proteſtant councellours to balance her popiſh ones: and not onely of her council, but of her cabinet: (for as every man muſt have his friend to eaſe his heart, ſo princes have their favourites to partake of their cares) and the marqueſs of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, and ſir William Cecil, were the onely perſons to whom the queen communicated her deſigne of reformation, and correcting the common-prayer; and they ordered affairs ſo, that the proteſtants ſhould be in hope, and yet the papiſts ſhould not be out of hope.

King Philip had a quarrel with the queen for rejecting his ſuit, the king of Sweden for ſlighting his ſon, the king of France in his wives right, the queen of Scots in her own, and the pope for excluding his ſupremacie; her ſubjects were as unſettled in their loyalty as in their religion: what remained? but that my lord of Bedford and ſir William Cecil ſhould make up a well-tempered houſe of commons by their intereſt, who ſhould carry along an indifferent houſe of lords by their *Reſolution?*

When he had ſerved the queen in parliament for the ſettlement of her kingdom at home, he ſerved the kingdome in an embaſſie to Scotland, to ſet up its correſpondence abroad. The

The earl of Lieceſter aimed at the queen of England, and the earl of Bedford, to divert him and ſecure Scotland, deſigned him for the queen of Scots; whom he watched for two things: 1. That ſhe ſhould either match with an Engliſh ſubject, or 2. With a ſoft and weak forreigner; that either the Scots might be in league with us, or have no peace at home. Q. Mary

His laſt ſervice I finde is a complement, when he was ſent by the queen as her deputy, with a font of maſſie gold worth 1043*l.* to hold king James at his baptiſm with expreſs command not to acknowledge my lord Darnley as king. This his ſervice was as laſting as his life, which ended in old age and renown. He conveyed his vertue and honour to the excellent Francis, as he did to the right honourable William earl of Bedford, now living.

Obſervations on the Life of Stephen Gardiner, *Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

THE tuition of the earl of Dorſet's children raiſed Wolſey; travelling with the duke of Norfolk's raiſed Gardiner: Fox his ſervice in the quality of ſecretary, made the firſt; and his in the ſame quality, made Gardiner. Lloyd.

There are three kinds of underſtanding; the one that is adviſed by its ſelf; the ſecond, that underſtandeth when it is informed by another; the third, that neither is adviſed by its ſelf, nor the

Q. Mary by the aſſiſtance of another. If this doctor failed in the firſt, and his own invention, he exceeded in the ſecond, of making uſe of others; for he was one of them that never heard or read what was not his own. His profeſſion was the civil law, that guideth forreign negotiations: His Inclination was that general policy that manageth them.

His eminencies were three:

1. His reſervedneſs: whereby he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he ſaid, and never ſaid what he thought; whereby he carried it ſo that others ſhould do his buſineſs, when they oppoſed it; and he ſhould undermine theirs, when he ſeemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew, backward: if you would know what he did, you muſt obſerve what he did not.

2. His boldneſs. Authority ſometimes meets with thoſe impediments, which neither power can overcome, nor good fortune divert, if courage and fortitude break not through and ſurmount them; and the motions of the iraſcible faculties, ſuch as hope, boldneſs, and choler, being well ordered, and conducted by reaſon, engage thoſe difficulties ſhe encountereth in the execution of her deſigns: reaſon diſcovered him his enterprizes, his will enclined him to them, and the noble tranſports of his regular paſſions ſet out both with that ardour and vehemencie, as bear down obſtacles, and compaſs the deſign: a hope he had, that never raſhly engaged him in deſperate undertakings, an audacity that precipitated him not weakly into impoſſibilities; and a choler that led him not blindly to inevitable ruines: conſideration

tion managing the firſt, diſcretion and foreſight the ſecond, and reaſon the third. What doth it avail a man to be wiſe, in knowing what is fit to be done; prudent, to invent means; juſt, to appropriate affairs to publick good; authorized and happy, to cauſe them to ſucceed; if a courage guided by reaſon, accompanied with prudence, ruled by diſcretion, animated by a generous boldneſs, be not diligent, quick and prompt for execution? His nature was generous and conſtant; his education (like that of the Roman youth among ſtateſmen) manifold and ſolid: his ſoul free, and diſ-engaged from any particular deſign. Q. Mary

3. Eloquence; that added to his parts what colours do to a picture; ſtate, grace and light: reaſon is the ornament of a man, ſpeech the Interpreter of reaſon, and eloquence the grace of ſpeech; wherein the orator excelleth other men, as much as they do other creatures. His wiſdom adviſed, his prudence contrived, his courage reſolved, and his eloquence perſwaded; adding at once gracefulneſs to his deſigns, and vigour to his enterprizes; as that wherewith he could ſatisfy mens reaſons, and maſter their paſſions, by which he carried them whither he pleaſed: His lively expreſſion animates his reaſon, his eloquence his expreſſion, and his geſture his eloquence; whereby he charmed the ſenſes, mollified hearts, incited affections, framed deſires, checked hopes, and exerciſed a ſacred empire over every man he dealt with.

Theſe qualities improved with travel, raiſed the doctor to be the chancellour's ſecretary, and the

legan-

Q. Mary* legantine courts chief ſcribe at home, a ſly agent in Italy, a ſucceſsful orator in Germany, and leiger embaſſador in France. In Italy, he with doctor Fox (having the king of France his agent to ſecond them) gained the Popes commiſſion for hearing of the cauſe between king Henry the VIII, and queen Katherine.

In Germany he undermined the French king, and in France the emperour.

Upon the poor Pope (whom he found not worth 20*l.*) perplexed between the king of England, who had ſet him at liberty, and the king of Spain, who had maintained him, he wrought ſo far, as to gain a dubious letter in cypher to the king, and a clear promiſe to the cardinal, both about the ſuppreſſion of ſome monaſteries, and the divorce; which the crafty agent extorted from the fearful man, with his *neceſſe eſt*, &c. although all this while he palliated this his main buſineſs, with ſome impertinent overtures about king Henry the ſeventh's Canonization: None better underſtanding the juſt degrees, ſeaſons and and methods of affairs, than this doctor: where he ſpoke one word for his majeſties divorce, he ſpoke two for the cardinal's advancement, having the French king's letter with him to that effect, in *omnem eventum*: In order whereunto he threatened the Pope from Germany, and Germany from Rome, ſo that their mutual jealouſies forced them to a compliance with his royal and ſacred maſter. A great agent he was in this buſineſs while Wolſey's ſecretary, a greater when the king's; in which capacity he writ, they ſay, one book for the Pope's ſupremacie in his maſter's name, and another for the king's in his own.

He

* kept at Black Fryars.

He draweth the kingdom's remonſtrance againſt the pope, wherein he hath one ſhrewd argument; to this purpoſe thoſe ſacra or wayes of religion that have any thing in them in any nation againſt the light of nature, and the being of humane ſociety were ſeverely animadverted on by the Romans upon this principle, that it was to be ſuppoſed that God's religion ſhould interfere with government which is God's inſtitution, and that way of religion which hath inwoven in it principles that make the eccleſiaſtical power a competitor with the civil, and the pope's againſt the kingdom. He and doctor Fox are employed to gain the vote of Cambridge for the divorce; where he brought it from the negative to even voices, and from even voices to a diſputation, and upon that, to a determination on the king's ſide: for which we find him now Biſhop of Wincheſter, archbiſhop Cranmer's aſſiſtant at pronouncing the divorce at the priory of Dunſtable, and one of the two embaſſadors at the interview between king Francis and king Henry. Q. Mary

As he had declared himſelf by writing, ſo he drew up a form whereby others might declare themſelves by oath for the king's ſupremacy: and as he owneth the king's authority, ſo he maintained it in his apology for Fiſher's death.

But becauſe no power is laſting, when religion is not venerable, the wary biſhop promotes the ſtatutes of ſix articles in the houſe of commons in ſpite of Cromwell and Cranmer; and urgeth the retaining of ſome eſſential latin * words in the tranſlation, in the convocation; words, for their genuine

* As Eccleſia, pœnitentia, Epiſcopus, ſacrificium, Pontifex.

Q. Mary genuine and native meaning, and for the majeſty of the matter in them contained, not to be Engliſhed: though he could not keep the word from ſhining, yet he had wit enough to keep it in a dark lanthorn, to keep the laity at their diſtance, and bear up the will-worſhip of Rome.

Had he kept here, king Henry had been ſatisfied; but when his ſucceſs improved his boldneſs, and that precipitated his undertakings, he muſt be quarreling with the proteſtant queens, and ſo fall out with the uxorious king, under whoſe diſpleaſure he continued while he lived, as he did under his ſons afterwards: (firſt, for refuſing a confeſſion of his fault, and then for not ſubſcribing ſome articles propoſed unto him, though he owned the ſupremacy, the reformation, and ſaid of the common-prayer, *That tho' he would not have made it ſo himſelf, yet he found in it ſuch things as ſatisfied his conſcience; and therefore he would both execute it himſelf, and cauſe others of his * Pariſhioners to do it; and if he were troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reaſon openly againſt it:)* ſo that he loſt his liberty and his biſhoprick, untill he was reſtored to both by queen Mary, (who kiſſed and called him her priſoner in the tower) and likewiſe advanced him to the chancellourſhip; wherein he did more harm by others than himſelf; keeping alwayes behinde the curtain, and acting in Oxford by viſitors, in London by Bonner, and in his own dioceſs by ſuffragans; onely in two particulars he declared himſelf:

1. Againſt the princeſs Elizabeth: ſaying, *In vain it is to lop the Branches, while the Root remains.* 2. Againſt

* Viz. thoſe of his Dioceſs.

2. Againſt the *Exiles:* threatning that *he would watch their ſupplies, ſo that they ſhould eat their nails, and then feed on their fingers ends.* Q. Mary

But *threatned Folks live long*; and before the confeſſors were brought to that bill of fare, the biſhop was eaten of worms himſelf, dying ſuddenly and ſtrangely; wholly a proteſtant in the point of merit, who had been in other things ſo zealous a papiſt.

One piece at once of his prudence and reſolution, and I have done: the lord protector by letters ſollicited Gardiner to reſign Trinity-Hall to the king's hand, who deſigned one colledge out of that and Clare-Hall: "Moſt politick "Gardiner (ſaith my author) not without cauſe "ſuſpecting ſome deſign or caſualty might ſur- "prize the interval between the diſſolution of "the old, and the erection of this new founda- "tion, civily declined the motion, informing "his grace, that *the way to advance the ſtudy of "the Law, was by promoting the preſent Profeſ- "ſors of that Faculty, (now ſo generally diſcou- "raged, and not by founding a new Colledge for "the future Students thereof; ſeeing Trinity Hall "alone could breed more Civilians than all Eng- "land did prefer according to their deſerts.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Herbert.

Lloyd. HIS family had not endeared itſelf to the ancient kings by its ſervice, nor his grandfather himſelf to king Henry the ſeventh by his relation, more than *He* did *Himſelf* to king Henry the eighth by his merit. He was a great pattern of antient virtue, that in the greateſt fortune enjoyed the leaſt liberty: vigilant and careful: one whoſe power was attended with ſollicitude, *(there was an Eye in the ancient Scepters)* and his ſollicitude with temperance; (he that commands himſelf, commands the world too.) While ſome mens imprudent integrity can do no harm, and others baſe cunning can do no good; ſir William's prudence and integrity was equally able for both, as there was occaſion. Very cloſe and ſucceſsful were his and my lord Shefield's negotiations abroad: very reſolute and manly his conduct at home. He was one of the twenty four counſellours to Henry the eighth while he lived, and one of the ſixteen executors of his will when he died. All great undertakers muſt avoid ſoftneſs and effeminacie, the bane of great natures and actions: for where there is love and pleaſure, there is fear; and where there is fear, there is that which enchains generoſity and confines courage.

He

He had his double diary; the firſt for actions, Q. Mary
the ſecond for obſervations upon them: and in-
deed his and ſir William Kingſton's manuſcripts
give a great light to the hiſtory of thoſe times:
in which diary we finde what actions he did a-
gainſt the Scots by conſtant alarms with three
thouſand Welch, and what againſt Ket's rebels
by notable ſtratagems with two thouſand. The
man is compleat that hath a head and a heart.

As to the faction in king Edward's time, he
would not concern himſelf, looking on accuſa-
tions in a commonwealth as great advantages to
check ambition, and vent diſcontent; that the
one may not aſpire too dangerouſly, nor the other
break out too irregularly. And as little con-
cerned was he in king Edward's will; his buſi-
neſs being rather obeying the ſovereign *that was*,
than determining who *ſhould be*.

He was a thoroughly adviſed man; one that
gazed not on the iſſues, but enquired into the
reaſons and ſpring of actions.

Very uſeful he was in queen Mary's council,
and no leſs in king Philip's war, where he got
St. Quintin for him, and a laſting renown for him-
ſelf: who died in queen Elizabeth's time, and
left this plain character behinde, *That he was a
noble Gentleman, of a truſty, a free and an open
Nature.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir Thomas Mannors, *and Sir* Ralph Evers.

Lloyd. I Joyn them both in my obſervations, becauſe they agreed both in their diſpoſitions:

1. Both nobly religious and ſo bleſſed themſelves, and being a bleſſing unto others: their religion was attended with magnanimity, conſtancy, wiſdom, prudence, valour and counſel, as the products of it; and with ſucceſs as the iſſue.

2. Both famous and renowned; having honour, as the ſhadow doth the ſun, going before them in their younger years, to make their way to action; keeping even with them in their middle age, to countenance and credit their proceedings; and following them in old age to eternize and embalm them: both making their way to honour as *Ageſilaus* in *Plutarch*, or *Epictetus* in *Strabo*, by ſaying what was well, and doing what was better; or with *Socrates*, by being what they appeared, and appearing no more than they were: (vertue, though obſcure, may ſatisfie me; it muſt be renowned, or it cannot ſerve others:) but action is the life of things, and good diſpoſitions are rather a man's inclinations than his vertue. Both therefore are in their courage regular, in their conduct obſervant, in their addreſſes obliging, in their paſſions even, in their enjoyments ſevere, and in their ſervices equal.

Sir

Sir Thomas Mannors firſt weakened the * nor- Q. Mary
thern rebels, by ſuch diſcreet propoſitions as met with many of their humours and intereſts, and then reſolved to engage them, but that the little brook Dun ſwelled miraculouſly to a river, between both armies: and at the ſame time ſir Ralph Evers held Scarborough-caſtle, where he had no ſouldiers but his own ſervants, nor any ſuſtenance for twenty days, but bread and water. For this ſervice he is made lord warden of the marches, as ſir Thomas is lord governour of the north.

Both did his majeſty as much ſervice in peace for his revenue, as in war for his ſecurity: both againſt the cardinal's way of raiſing money, which was but the relieving of a preſent need by laying the foundation of a laſting inconvenience; being very careful that their maſter did not loſe in the preſident what he gained in the money.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Baker.

THere is one of this name *remarqueable* in every king's reign ſince the conqueſt; here is one now *renowned* in this: 1. For integrity, to be neither awed nor corrupted: 2. For a ſpirit publick as nature, neither moved with particular reſpects, nor terminated in a private deſign. Lloyd.

* In King Henry the Eighth's time, when they roſe againſt the Reformation.

Q. Mary The French were ſo inſolent in London the eighth year of Henry the eighth, that when one Williamſon a carpenter, was about to pay for two pigeons he bought, a Frenchman takes them out of his hand, ſaying, *They were no meat for Carpenters, but for my Lord Embaſſadour*; who concerned himſelf ſo much in the caſe, that he had Williamſon impriſoned: ſir John ſued the embaſſador for the man, who anſwered, *That the Engliſh Knave deſerved to be hanged for denying any thing to a French man.* Whereupon ſir John replyed, *You know not that you are in London:* a notable reply, conſidering that the city was up next day againſt ſtrangers, in ſo deſperate a tumult, that none could ſuppreſs but ſir Thomas More, and none ſettle but ſir William Kingſton and ſir John Baker. No ſooner had he allayed the diſorder at home, but he with the biſhop of St. Aſaph, are ſent to appeaſe a rebellion abroad, I mean in Denmark, though in vain; when the king's cruelty exceeded their apology, and *ruine* was more elegiable with that people, than *duty* or *obedience:* where he obſerved theſe ſix maximes, in order to a newly conquer'd kingdome:

1. That the royal line ſhould be extinguiſhed.
2. That the old cuſtoms in lawes and taxes ſhould be obſerved.
3. The prince muſt be there to obſerve their humours in perſon.
4. That the officers be moderate and honeſt.
5. That there be colonies planted in one of two places that are the keys of the ſtate.
6. That the neighbours ſhould be weakned and divided, and the in-land forts demoliſhed.

As he would have compoſed the troubles of forreign princes, ſo he ſerved the neceſſities of his own, being the moſt ſucceſsful commiſſioner for the benevolence in the countrey; and the moſt active agent for the loan in London: wherefore I finde him chancellour of the exchequer, Anno 1545, and one of the aſſiſtants to the truſtees for king Edward, 1547. Q. Mary

Judge Mountague was the onely perſon that durſt diſpute king Edward's will: judge Hales and ſir John Baker were the onely counſellours that durſt refuſe it; the firſt whereof ſtood to the law, againſt power; the ſecond, to his allegiance againſt intereſt; and both to the rights of the crown which are laſting, rather than the deſignes of ſome favourites that are as momentary as their greatneſs, and as uncertain as their grandeur.

This conſtant and firm reſolution to ſtick to his duty and loyalty, brought him to his grave in peace and honour; having been a faithful counſellour and ſervant to king Henry the eighth, king Edward the ſixth, queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Kingſton.

HE was one of the greateſt courtiers at maſks and revels, one of the beſt captains at ſea, and one of the moſt valiant and ſkilful commanders by land. None more pleaſing to Lloyd.

Q. Mary the Engliſh ladies, none more terrible to the French king. Cunningly did he diſcover the king of Spain's deſigne upon Navarre to his majeſty, by pretending a revolt to that king of Spain; and as cunningly did he draw the French troops into a ſnare by counterfeiting a retreat towards Briſany. His advice had ſaved the admiral at Breſt, and his foreſight did reſcue ſir Edward Belknap near Guiſnes. He was knighted for his ſervice at Tournay, and made marſhal for his ſucceſs at Flodden. He was one of them that perſwaded the city to its duty at * Shoreditch; and if that would not do he was to command it from the Tower; being commiſſioner in the firſt place, Aug. 2, and lieutenant of the ſecond, Sept. 6, (*The multitude is rather to be awed than reaſoned with.*) Some princes have diſarmed their ſubjects, others have divided them, a third ſort have obliged them; others yet have kept up plots againſt them: but all have built and commanded fortreſſes to ſecure themſelves it were well if *love did*, it's neceſſary that *fear ſhould* guide this world. The king condeſcended one day to juſt with him; and he, though invincible, to fall by his majeſty, (you muſt let a prince be a prince in every thing.) So complaiſant he was, that he was one of the ſix maskers at court at 50; and yet ſo grave, that when divers young men that were familiar with the king after the French mode were baniſhed, he kept his ſtation, as one of the *ſtayed men*, at 30. He was one of the 16 that attended the king in his firſt interview with the emperour; and one of the 40 that waited on him in the two laſt with the king of France; narrowly eſca-

* When the riſing was there.

eſcaping at the laſt that poiſon as ſome thought, Q. Mary
or ill vapours, as others conclude, whereof the
open-hearted lord Brooks, the valiant ſir Edward
Poynings, reſerved ſir John Pechy, and active
ſir Edward Belknap, died; whereupon by his
advice, all Frenchmen were put to their fines, and
all Scotch to their ranſome. Neither was he
only for ſhew, but ſervice too, leading the right
wing of the army at Guiſnes, when ſir Everard
Digby commandeth the left, and lord Sands the
vanguard, Sir Edward Guilford then marſhal of
Callis the horſe, ſir Richard Winkfield the rear,
and the duke of Suffolk the main battle. Where
his aſſaults on Cappe and Roy ſpeak him a ſoul-
dier, as his underhand correſpondence with the
lord Iſilſtein argued him a ſtateſman.

Sir Thomas Manners the firſt earl of Rutland
of that name diſcovered, and ſir William King-
ſton told his majeſty the cardinals plots againſt
the king's marriage with queen Anne, and his
deſigne to marry him to the Dutcheſs of Alan-
zon: a deſign that becauſe it ſeemed to over-
reach his majeſty in cunning, and really did croſs
his inclination in malice, that incenſed his majeſty
to a paſſion which could be appeaſed with no leſs
a ſacrifice than the cardinal's fall: in order to which
the next ſervice of this knight, is as lieutenant of
the tower to take him to cuſtody: which he did
at Leiceſter with a noble reſolution, conſidering
that man's greatneſs, with a due reverence regard-
ing his calling, and with a tender compaſſion reſ-
pecting his condition; perſwading him gently of
the king's *favour*, at that very time when he was
come to be an inſtrument of his *juſtice*. And
what he did to a cardinal now, he did to queens

Q. Mary afterwards; never prince commanded higher services than king Henry, nor subjects discharging them more undauntedly than sir William: because therefore he was so severe a lieutenant in the tower, he is a made provost-marshal in the field; in which capacity, after the Devonshire rebels defeat, we have these two remarkable stories of him.

1. One Bowyer, Mayor of Bodmin in Cornwal, had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the provost sent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the mayor made great provision. A little before dinner the provost took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore he must set up two gallows. The mayor did so. After dinner sir William Kingston thanks him for his entertainment, and then desires him to bring him to the gallows: where when they were come, sir William asked him whether they were strong enough; *I, I'll warrant thee*, saith the mayor. *Then*, saith sir William, *get you up upon them, I hope*, saith the mayor, *you do not mean as you speak. Nay, sir*, saith he, *you must die; for you have been a busie rebel.* And so without more ado hanged him.

2. A miller that had been very active in the late rebellion, fled, and left another to take his name upon him. Sir William Kingston calls for the miller, his servant tells him that he was the man. *Then*, saith he, *you must be hanged. Oh sir*, saith he, *I am not the miller. If you are not the miller, you are a lying knave: if you are the miller you are a trayterous one, and however you must dye.* And so he did.

Punish

Puniſh the multitude ſeverely once, and you oblige them ever: for they love that man only for his good-nature, whom they fear for his reſolution. Q. Mary

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Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Cheyney.

THREE things adviſed men in king Henry the eighth's days: 1. Their extraction: 2. Their wit: 3. Their comelineſs and ſtrength. For the firſt, his name was up ſince Battle-Abbey-Roll; as to the ſecond, it was enough that he travelled with Wolſey: and touching the third, there need be no other inſtance than that at Paris, where upon the Daulphin's proclamation of ſolemn juſts, the duke of Suffolke, the marqueſs of Dorſet, ſir Edward Nevil and he, anſwered the challenge; as not long after he encountered king Henry himſelf at Greenwich, where he had the great honour of a ſtrong and valiant knight, and a greater of being overthrown by his majeſty. Lloyd.

Having engaged his majeſty's perſon at home, he had the honour to repreſent it abroad: where his commiſſion was to complement the French king about his liberty, but his buſineſs to obſerve the ſtate of that place: where he ſaw that a kingdom governed by a prince who hath under him other independent lords, as that of France, is no longer ſafe, than thoſe lords are either in humour, or in purſe; being always in danger either from their

Q. Mary their diſcontent or corruption: 2. That faction is always eager, while duty is modeſt and temperate.

This occaſion ennobled his vertue, and his vertue improved the occaſion ſo well, that I finde him ſo eminent a parliament-man the 22d of king Henry, that as ſir Brian Tuge had the honour to open the ſeveral boxes ſent from the reſpective univerſities, with their opinions about the king's divorce: ſo ſir Thomas had the happineſs in a ſet ſpeech to inſiſt upon them all in general, and every one in particular. And at queen Anne's coronation my lord Vaux, ſir John Mordant, ſir Thomas, and ten more, are made knights of the Bath.

Having acquitted himſelf nobly in court and council, he attends the earl of Hertford againſt the Scots, as commiſſary; and ſir John Wallop with ſir John Rainsford, as marſhal: for his ſervices in both which capacities, he is made lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in England; and with the comptroller, ſir John Gage, made field-marſhal, and treaſurer of the army before Bulloign: and not long after, treaſurer of the houſhold, and one of the aſſiſtants for the overſeeing of king Henry's will.

When ſome were joyning others with the protector, others for limiting him, ſir Thomas would ſay, That (as Machiavel ſaith, *No laws*, ſo) *No good can be done by a governour that was not abſolute, without either a reſtraint or a competitor.*

Upon the reformation he would ſay, That *the diſeſteem of religious ceremonies argued the decay of the civil government: good princes have firſt*

kept their people religious, and thereby vertuous and united: both old and new Rome ſtand by this. Q. Mary

In a word; what makes all men, made him, a generous induſtry of minde, and a well-ſet hardineſs of body, which were attended while he lived with honour and ſucceſs, and ſince he is dead, with repute and renown.

Where eminent and well-born perſons out of a habit of ſloath and lazineſs, neglect at once the nobleſt way of employing their times, and the faireſt occaſions of advancing their fortunes; that ſtate, though never ſo flouriſhing and glorious, wants ſomething of being compleatly happy: as ſoon as ever therefore a kingdom is ſettled (ſedate times are the beſt to improve a common-wealth, as his quiet hours are the beſt to improve a man) he and ſir William Howard addreſſed themſelves as vigorouſly to the opening of commerce and traffick, for the enriching of this nation, as they had before to the exerciſe of arms, to ſecure it; purſuing the deſign with reſolution, and keeping the frame of it in order with induſtry, their conſtant ſpirit ſurmounting all difficulties that ſtood in the way of their own glory, or their countrey's happineſs; working ſo well upon the Ruſſians, that they not onely obtained their deſire, but gained ſo far upon the affections of that people, that they obtained the greateſt priviledges any tradeſmen ever enjoyed in Muſcovy; which the Ruſſians were not eaſier in the promiſe of, than juſt in the execution of that promiſe: ſo that the trade is advanced not onely beyond our hopes, but our very pretences too, by thoſe three particulars that never fail of ſucceſs: 1. Union: 2. Conduct: 3. Courage in enter-

Q. Mary enterprizes vigorouſly begun and watchfully purſued: until queen *ELIZABETH* concerned her ſelf ſo far in the undertaking, as to influence it with a character peculiar to the dignity of ſuch a conſtitution: which carried that commerce higher than others could raiſe their imaginations, as we ſee; whoſe profit by it is as remarqueable in this age, as their zeal for it was in the laſt: when fear and diſtruſt, thoſe ignoble paſſions that diſparage all great undertakings, which judged that deſign a piece of extravagant folly, ſeeth it now an act of profound wiſdom; eſpecially when it may be improved under CHARLES the ſecond and the great, a prince who by admirable order of his conduct, the juſt adminiſtration of his revenue, and by his fatherly goodneſs towards his people, hath put himſelf into a condition to undertake without fear whatſoever may be put in execution with honour or juſtice.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of England in the Reign of Queen Mary.

THE STATESMEN AND FAVOURITES OF ENGLAND, IN The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Obſervations on the Life of Queen *ELIZABETH.*

TO diſplay in few words the elogy of this illuſtrious queen, it ſeems to be ſufficient to obſerve, that her name is ſtill of bleſſed memory with the Engliſh, now when flattery cannot be ſuppoſed to have any ſhare in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth baniſhed from England the catholick religion, and reſtored the reformation. This alone was the cauſe that two Rapin.

parties

Q. Eliz. parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animoſity. The Proteſtants conſidering that this queen was the ſole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been deſtroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themſelves inclined to excuſe her failings. For the ſame reaſon, the Roman Catholicks look upon her with another eye; nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to paint her in the blackeſt colours, and give her the moſt odious epithets. This makes it impoſſible to give her a character, that ſhall pleaſe all the world. I ſhall content myſelf (ſays Rapin) therefore with making ſome reflections which will aſſiſt thoſe who ſeek only truth, to paſs an impartial judgment on this famous queen, free from party-paſſion and prejudice.

Elizabeth had great ſenſe, and a judgment naturally ſound and ſolid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing ſhews her capacity more, than her addreſs in ſurmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, eſpecially when it is conſidered, what theſe enemies were, the moſt powerful, the moſt artful, the moſt ſubtle, and the leaſt ſcrupulous in Europe. The bare naming of them is a ſufficient demonſtration. The court of Rome under ſeveral popes, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. kings of France, Catharine de Medici, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorrain, Mary queen of Scots, all the Romiſh clergy, and particularly the Jeſuits. Had her forces be-

proportionable to thoſe of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary. Strength often ſupplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did ſhe withſtand, ſo potent, ſo formidable enemies? It was by two or three maxims which ſhe made the rule of her conduct, and from which ſhe never ſwerved: *To make herſelf beloved by her people: to be frugal of her treaſure: to cheriſh diſſention amongſt her neighbours.* If things are rightly conſidered, ſhe had no other way to ſecure herſelf. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never queſtioned, it is not this I am chiefly to deſcribe. On the contrary, her enemies have taken occaſion from thence to defame her, by repreſenting as vices diſguiſed, what her friends extol as ſo many virtues. They pretend, that her ability conſiſted wholly in an over-ſtrained diſſimulation, and a profound hypocriſy. In a word, they ſay ſhe was a perfect comedian. For my part I don't pretend to deny that ſhe made great uſe of diſſimulation, as well to the courts of France and Spain as to the queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifeſt truth. The court of Rome was the only court ſhe never diſſembled with. I am alſo perſuaded, that being ſo much concerned to gain the love and eſteem of her ſubjects, ſhe affected to ſpeak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderneſs for them, and deſired to have it believed, that ſhe did thro' an exceſſive love to her people, things wherein her own intereſt was moſt concerned. But the queſtion is to know, whether in her circumſtances her diſſimulation was blameable. What injury Q. Eliz.

was

Q. Eliz. was it to her ſubjects to endeavour to perſuade them, ſhe loved them tenderly, ſince ſhe actually and really did whatever was neceſſary to convince them? As to foreigners, it muſt be carefully obſerved, that her diſſimulation and artifices tended not to invade their poſſeſsions, but to preſerve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of her crown and life, and ſhe ſaved both by her policy and diſſimulation. Where is the harm of ſuch a conduct? Can the diſſimulation and artifices which aim only at ſelf-preſervation, be, without extreme prejudice, confounded with the diſſimulation and artifices that tend to ſurprize the innocent, and invade the property of others; can theſe, I ſay, be conſidered upon the ſame foot? For my part I am ſo far from thinking that this ſort of diſſimulation is any blemiſh to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that ſhe was too parſimonious, and upon ſome occaſions ſtuck too cloſe to her maxim, not to be at any expence but what was abſolutely neceſſary. However in general, I maintain, that her circumſtances required her, if not to be covetous, at leaſt not to part with her money, but with the greateſt caution, both to preſerve her people's affection, and inable her to withſtand her enemies. After all, whom ſhe did wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had laviſhed her treaſure, like the king her father, in the beginning of his reign. As for the reſt of her ſubjects, inſtead of having

ca[illegible]

cauſe to complain of this pretended avarice; they had reaſon to be pleaſed with it, ſince it conſiſted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as king Henry VII, her grandfather, had done, but in huſbanding her revenues, and conſequently their own. Q. Eliz.

She is alſo accuſed of not being ſo chaſte as ſhe affected to appear. Nay, ſome pretend, there are now in England the deſcendants of a daughter ſhe had by the earl of Leiceſter. But as hitherto no proof of this accuſation has been produced, it may be ſafely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life, as after her death.

It is not ſo eaſy to juſtify her concerning the death of the queen of Scots. Here it muſt freely be owned, that ſhe ſacrificed equity, juſtice, and perhaps her own conſcience to her ſafety. If Mary was guilty of her huſband's murder, as there is reaſon to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to puniſh her. And indeed, it was not for that ſhe took away her life, but ſhe uſed that pretence to detain her in priſon, under the deceitful excuſe of making her innocence appear. On this occaſion her diſſimulation was blameworthy. This firſt injuſtice ingaged her afterwards, to uſe numberleſs arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's impriſonment perpetual. Hence aroſe at laſt the neceſſity of putting her to death on the ſcaffold. In ſhort, this exceſs of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of diſſimulation to juſtify herſelf, and caſt the blame on the innocent. This doubtleſs, is Elizabeth's great blemiſh, which manifeſtly proves to what height ſhe carried the fear of

Q. Eliz. of loſing a tottering crown. This continual fear and uneaſineſs, is what characteriſes her reign, becauſe it was the ſpring of almoſt all her actions. All that can be ſaid for Elizabeth, is, that the queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to ſuch a point, that one of the two queens was to periſh, and it was natural that the weakeſt ſhould fall. But this does not excuſe Elizabeth's injuſtice to Mary, in detaining her in priſon, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I do not believe her being a true Proteſtant was ever queſtioned. But as it was her intereſt to be ſo, ſome have taken occaſion to doubt whether the zeal ſhe expreſſed for her religion, was the effect of her perſuaſion, or policy. What may have occaſioned this doubt, is, that it clearly appears in her hiſtory, that in aſſiſting the proteſtants of France and the Netherlands, as well as thoſe of Scotland, ſhe had only temporal views, namely, her own ſafety and defence againſt impending invaſions. But it cannot thence be inferred, ſhe was not a good proteſtant, or had no religion at all, ſince it is not impoſſible that her religion ſhould agree with her temporal intereſt. All that can be ſaid, is, that ſhe happened ſometimes to prefer her temporal, before her religious concerns.

She is warmly accuſed of perſecuting the catholicks, and putting ſeveral to death. It is true, there were ſome that ſuffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were puniſhed but for conſpiring againſt the queen or ſtate, or for attempting to deſtroy the Proteſtant reli-

religion in England, and reſtore the Romiſh by violent methods. The catholicks, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, though with ſome reſtraint, as to the exerciſe of their religion, but with none, as to their conſciences. If this may be called perſecution, what name ſhall be given to the ſufferings of the Proteſtants in the reign of Mary? Q. Eliz

The Preſbyterians think alſo, they have reaſon to complain of the ſtatute enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conſcience, though they were proteſtants. I ſhall not take upon me to determine, whether they had cauſe to complain of this rigour. I ſhall only ſay, that in my opinion, they had too much obſtinacy, and their adverſaries too little charity.

To ſum up in two words what may ſerve to form Elizabeth's character, I ſhall add, that ſhe was a good and illuſtrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what ſhe ought to be eſteemed for above all things, is, that ſhe cauſed the Engliſh to enjoy a felicity unknown to their anceſtors, under moſt of the kings, her predeceſſors. This, doubtleſs, is the teſt, by which we are to judge of thoſe whom God hath ſet over us.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Lloyd. SIR Nicholas Bacon, a man full of wit and wiſdome, was a gentleman, and a man of law, and of great knowledge therein, whereby together with his other parts of learning and dexterity, he was prompted to be keeper of the great ſeal, and being kin to the treaſurer Burleigh, was brought by his help into the queen's favour.

This gentleman underſtood his miſtreſs well, and the times better: he could raiſe factions to ſerve the one, and allay them to ſuit the others. He had the deepeſt reach into affairs of any man that was at the council-table: the knottieſt head to pierce into difficulties: the moſt comprehenſive Judgement to ſurround the merit of a cauſe: the ſtrongeſt memory to recollect all circumſtances of a buſineſs to one view: the greateſt patience to debate and conſider; (for it was he that firſt ſaid, *Let us ſtay a little, and we will have done the ſooner*:) and the cleareſt reaſon to urge any thing that came in his way in court or chancery. His favour was eminent with his miſtreſs, and his alliance ſtrong with her ſtateſmen. No man ſerved his ſovereign more faithfully, none ſecured himſelf more wiſely. Leiceſter ſeemed wiſer than he was, Bacon was wiſer than he ſeemed to be; Hunſdon neither *was* nor *ſeemed* wiſe.

Mu

Much learning my lord Bacon gained in Ben- Q. Eliz.
net's Colledge in Cambridge, more experience in Paris of France: his dexterity and diſpatch advanced him to the court of wards, his deep experience made him lord keeper. Alliance was the policy of that time. Bacon and Cecil married two ſiſters; Walſingham and Mildmay two more; Knowles, Eſſex and Leiceſter were linked; the prudent queen having all her favourites, relations and dependencies in her eye, and diſpoſing of them according to their ſeveral intereſts. Great was this ſtates-man's wit, greater the fame of it; which as he would ſay, *being nothing, made all things*: for report, though but fancy, begets opinion; and opinion begets ſubſtance. He was the exacteſt man to draw up a law in council, and the moſt diſcreet to execute it in court. When others urged the repeal of that act whereby queen Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, he rather ſuppreſſed it, chuſing the cloſure of a feſtered wound more prudent than the opening of it; and judging it more wiſdome to *ſatisfy* the world with the old law, *That the crown takes away all defects*; than to perplex it with new diſputes, *Whether queen Elizabeth were legitimate.* State-miſcarriages are rather to be privately connived at, than publickly redreſſed; the remedy it may be doing no more ſervice than putting the people in minde of the miſhap. He neither affected nor attained to greatneſs; *mediocria firma* was his principle and his practice. When queen Elizabeth aſked him, *Why his houſe was ſo little?* he anſwered, *Madam my houſe is not too little for me, but you have made me too big for my houſe. Give me*, ſaid he, *a good eſtate, rather*

Q. Eliz. *than a great one. He had a very quaint ſaying,* ſaith Robert Naunton, *and he uſed it often to very good purpoſe,* That he loved the jeſt well, but not the loſs of his friend. *He would ſay, that though* unuſquiſq; ſuæ fortunæ faber, *was a true and good principle; yet the moſt in number were thoſe that marred themſelves: but I will never forgive that man that loſeth himſelf to be rid of his jeſt.* The excellency of his parts was ſet off with the gravity of his perſon, and the queen would ſay, *My lord Bacon's ſoul lodgeth well.* His account of England and all its affaires, was punctual; his uſe of learned artiſts, was continual; his correſpondence with his fellow-ſtateſmen, exact: his apprehenſion of our laws and government, clear; his model of both, methodical: his faithfulneſs to the church, eminent: his induſtrious invention for the ſtate, indefatigable. He, was in a word, a father of his country, and of ſir Francis Bacon. Sir Nicholas Bacon was the moderate man that was appointed to preſide at the diſputation between the Proteſtant and Popiſh doctors in the firſt of queen Elizabeth. He was that judicious ſtates-man, to whom was truſted the management of that parliament and convocation: the ſatisfaction of the people and kingdome, and thoſe delatory proceedings with France, Spain, and Rome, that were at the bottom of the great work of reformation, and ſettlement at that time,

Obſervations on the Life of William Cecil, *Lord* Burleigh.

WILLIAM * CECIL was born with the advantage of being Richard Cecil's ſon, (who was of the robes to king Henry, and a legatee in his will) and bred with that of being commoner of St. John's in Cambridge, and ſtudent at the † Innes of court in London; whence he was advanced by his pregnancy to ſerve the duke of Somerſet in quality of maſter of requeſts, as he was afterwards by his maſter to attend king Edward the ſixth, in the capacity of ſecretary of ſtate; where he furniſhed all acts and orders with reaſons of ſtate, as he had them fitted by able lawyers with arguments of law. He loved always, they ſay, to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land. He was conſtant, but not obſtinate in his advice. ‡ As the planets are whirled about dayly from Eaſt to Weſt by the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, yet have a contrary motion of their own from Weſt to Eaſt, which they ſlowly, yet ſurely move at their leiſures: ſo our *ſtates-man*, though yielding in ſome things to greatneſs of ſome perſons in an age wherein it was preſent drowning to ſwim againſt the ſtream; yet had he his counter-endeavours againſt the prevailing ſtrain, and privately advan-

Lloyd.

* Deſcended of the Roman Cecilii, ſay ſome.

† Grays-Inne.

‡ Fuller Holy State ex Ariſt. l. 2. de cœlo, c. 4. & 10.

Q. Eliz. advanced his rightful intentions against others wrongful ambitions. If diſſenting from his ſuperiours, he did it with all humility and moderation; yet chuſing always rather to diſpleaſe than betray. He was in much favour with king Edward, in ſome with queen Mary, in moſt with queen Elizabeth; who though ſparing of her honours, yet heaped on him the truſt of ſecretary of ſtate, the profits of the maſter of the wards, the advancement of lord treaſurer, and the degree of baron of Burleigh: for as he followed the marqueſs of Wincheſter in his *employment*, ſo he did in his *compliance*. When he was out of place, he was not out of ſervice in queen Mary's days; his abilities being as neceſſary in thoſe times as his inclination; and that queens council being as ready to *advance* him at laſt, as they were to *uſe* him all her reign.

In queen Elizabeth's time he ſettled the crown by ſettling religion; and by an utter ſeparation from Rome, ſtrengthened England. He made *equal* uſe of thoſe that were then Proteſtants by *intereſt*, and they who were ſo in *conſcience*: thoſe that had affections for church-lands, and thoſe that had affections for the church. The pope would by a bull confirm the ſale of abbey-lands; *But who*, ſaid Burleigh, *can confirm the pope's Bull*; the king of Spain ſecured the queen in hope of her bed, the pope winked at her in hope of her heart: Burleigh over-reached the one by a fair complayſance, and the other by inſenſible alterations.

During the queen's ten years calm, Cecil provided for a tempeſt; and improved her ſhipping and ammunition to a dreadfulneſs at ſea, as he did

did her army to a great skill and experience by land. He made Holland our ſtage of war, and our ſchool of diſcipline; where England gained the ſecurity and experience of war without its calamity and deſolations; always offenſive, and once onely defenſive. Q. Eliz.

His intelligence abroad, was no leſs than his prudence at home; and he could write to a friend in Ireland what the king of Spain could do for two years together, and what he could not do. His advices from his penſioners abroad, were preſented queen Elizabeth once a fortnight; 1. clearly and plainly; 2. methodically and diſtinctly; 3. ſpeedily and ſeaſonably; 4. truly and fully. He exchanged his intereſt for Walſingham's intelligence, who commanded what he could *do*, as he did what the other *knew*. The bull clapped at London-houſe, was firſt in our ſtate-man's ſtudy: where they might learn what they were to do, and proteſtants what to expect, many years before any thing was viſible.

When Leiceſter would have no equal, and Suſſex no ſuperiour, then Cecil as Neuter ſerved himſelf of them both. He would wreſtle with neither of them, yet he would trip them both: they having many rubs in their way, yet never ſaw who laid them. He never quarrelled with any; neither, ſaith Cambden, did he ever ſue, or was he ever ſued. *Prudens qui Patiens*, was his ſaying, before it was ſir Edward Cooke's motto: and he had rather tire out oppoſition by his moderation, than improve it by his impatience. Others were raiſed to balance factions, he to ſupport the kingdome: fickle favour toſ-

ſed

Q. Eliz. ſed them, conſtant intereſt ſecured him. No fewer than the marqueſs of Wincheſter, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter and Weſtmorland contrived his fall; but reaſon of ſtate and his miſtreſs kept up his ſtanding. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton adviſed them to clap him up, ſaying, *That then men would open their mouths to ſpeak freely againſt him:* but the queen underſtanding hereof, and ſtanding, as I may ſay, * (ſaith my author) in the very priſon-door, quaſhed all their deſignes, and freed him from the miſchief projected againſt him. Great was the value the queen ſet upon him, as her ableſt miniſter of ſtate: for coming once to viſit him being ſick of the gout at Burleigh-houſe in the Strand, and being much heightned with her head-attire then in faſhion, the lord's ſervant who conducted her through the door, ſaid, *May your highneſs be pleaſed to ſtoop.* The queen returned, *For your Maſter's ſake I will ſtoop, but not for the King of* Spain. She would make him always ſit down in her preſence: ſaying, *My Lord, we make uſe of you not for your bad* Leggs, *but your* good head.

He was a good friend to the church as then eſtabliſhed by law; adviſing his ſon Thomas never to build a great houſe, or beſtow any great charge upon an impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter: yet conniving at ſober nonconformiſts, to ſtrengthen the foundation at preſent, he checked the forwardneſs of private men, and advanced the honour of the publick eſtabliſhment on all hands. *Good my Lord*

* Camb. Eliz. anno 1579, 80.

Lord, (ſaith he in his letter to archbiſhop Whit- Q. Eliz.
gift, in behalf of ſome ſqueamiſh miniſters) "
"bear with my ſcribling; I write with the teſti-
"mony of a good conſcience: I deſire the peace
"of the church; I deſire concord and unity in
"the exercise of our religion: I fear no ſenſual
"or wilful recuſant. I would not make offen-
"ders, neither would I protect them. And
"I pray your grace bear this, (and perchance a
"fault) and yet I have ſharply admoniſhed
"them, that if they will be diſturbers in their
"churches, they muſt be corrected: and yet
"upon your grace's anſwer to me, * *Ne ſutor ultra Crepidam*; neither will I put † *Falcem in alterius Meſſem*, (was his chaplain Traverſe his hand in all this?) and then again: *If I had known his fault*, (ſaith he of Brown) *I might be blamed for Writing for him.* Thus he carried matters without paſſion and prejudice prudently, as became ſo great a ſtates-man He was not *rigid*, yet he was *careful*: he would help the good-natured, yet puniſh the ſtubborn: he would rather be where nothing is lawful, than where all things are ſo. He would never ſkrew up the law to the pitch of cruelty, nor unlooſe it to the remiſſneſs of libertiniſm.

He was no leſs honourable a patron of the univerſity, than he was a faithful ſon of the church: (the church ſtrengtheneth the ſtate, and the univerſities furniſh both:) particularly in the caſe of *Rent-corn*, which (ſaith my author) firſt grew in Sr Thomas Smith's head, yet was ripened by Burleigh's aſſiſtance; whereby, though the rents of

* Cobler keep to thy Laſt.

† My Sickle into another's Corn.

Q. Eliz. of the colledges ſtand ſtill, their revenues increaſe.

He was not ſurer of all church-men and ſcholars by his obligations upon them, than he was of all by his complaiſance and pleaſantneſs. None more grave than he in publick, none more free in private; eſpecially at his table, where he drew ſomething out of his heavieſt gueſts; having an admirable dexterity in reading and obſerving men, their own occaſional openings in common diſcourſe; there being more hold to be taken of a few words caſually uttered, than of ſet-ſolemn ſpeeches, which rather ſhew mens arts than their natures, as indited rather of their brains than hearts. His power awed many, his converſation obliged more. He had his hour to put on his gown, and his hour to put it off: when he would ſay, *Lie thou there Lord Treaſurer*; and bidding *Adieu* to all ſtate-affairs, he diſpoſed himſelf to his quiet and reſt.

He laid the deſignes of war by his own theory, and his friends intelligence; yet he adviſed peace and died before the queſtion was determined, *Whether a War with* Spain? others underſtood the *Nature* of war, but he onely the expediency and *Conveniency*. If war was neceſſary, none more forward to promote it, none more careful to maintain it: knowing, that in vain do the brows beat, the eyes ſparkle, the tongue threaten, the fiſt bend, and the arm ſtrike, if the belly be not fed, and the back cloathed: and indeed this was his maſter-piece, that the queen vying gold and ſilver with the king of Spain, had money or credit when the other had neither; her exchequer, ſaith my author, though but

but a pond in compariſon, holding water, when his river fed with a ſpring from the Indies, was dreined dry. It was with his advice that that queen paid her obligations in preferments, rather than money; giving away not above two largeſſes of that nature in her life. In a word, when others ſet in a cloud, he ſhined clear to his laſt: he ſaw Eſſex dead, Leiceſter ſlighted, Mountjoy diſcountenanced: and what with the queen's conſtant favour, which *lodged* where it *lighted*, and his own temper and moderation, when more violent men failed, he died as great a favourite as he lived; leaving his ſon Thomas ſo much eſtate as advanced him to the earldome of Exeter; and his ſon Robert ſo much ſtate-diſcipline as raiſed him *ſucceſſive* to be ſecretary of ſtate, maſter of the court of wards, lord treaſurer, and earl of Saliſbury. Q. Eliz.

He was a very exact and a wary obſerver of foreign tranſaction; witneſs this paſſage to ſir Henry Norris embaſſador in France: "The rare "manner of your entertainment, hath moved "the queen's majeſty to muſe upon what ſcore "it ſhould be, being more than hath been uſed "in like caſes to her embaſſadors, and ſuch as "beſides your own report hath been by others "lately advertiſed: and for that in ſuch things "gueſſes be doubtful, I pray you by your next "advertiſe me what your ſelf do think of it; "and in the mean time I know you are not un-"taught to judge of the difference between "*fair words and good deeds*, as the ſaying is, "* *Fortuna cum adblanditur Captiviem advenit.*

His thoughts of a rebel that ſubmitted, take in theſe words: *Of late* Shane Oneal *hath made mean*

* Fortune flatters only to enthrall.

Q. Eliz. *means to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to be received into grace, pretending that he hath meant no manner of unlawfulneſs towards the Queen: by which is gathered that he groweth weary of his lewdneſs: yet I think he is no otherwiſe to be reformed than by ſharp proſecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the leſs for any his fair Writings, as reaſon is.*

Of intelligence he writes thus: *I doubt not but you ſhall have of his hand no lack of Intelligence, which you muſt credit as you ſee cauſe by proof of the event.*

About embaſſadors diſpatches he ſaith, *He muſt write apart to the Secretary in matters containing trouble and buſineſs, and to his Soveraign of Advice.*

In a particular negotiation about pyrates, he adviſed, *That the King of France and his Council might perceive that it is well known how the Pyrates are ſuffered to do what they will, notwithſtanding it be contrary to Proclamation. And yet you ſhall ſo order the matter,* (ſaith he to a French ambaſſadour) *as not that you ſhall find fault with this manner of ſuffering: for that ought properly to be to the Spaniſh or Portugal Embaſſador, with whom you may ſometime deal, to underſtand how they do, know what is done, and how they do interpret it.*

Touching the king of Scots murther, he would ſay, *There are words ſpoken which I hold beſt to ſuppreſs: neither would I have you* (ſaith he to his friend) *utter any of theſe things, not doubting but ſhortly God will cauſe the truth to be revealed.*

Of

Of an underhand traytor he writes to his friend, *I pray write unto me ſomewhat more particularly for the proof of his trayterous ſpeeches, whereby there might be ſome ground made how to have him demanded.* Q. Eliz.

Of the demanding of a town promiſed in a treaty: ſir Thomas Smith went *to demand Callis, not that we think the Governour will deliver it, but to avoid all cavillation which they might invent: (for by Law it muſt be demanded upon the very place; and being not delivered, the ſum of 500000 l. is forfeited) Mr. Winter ſhall paſs ſecretly with him to take poſſeſſion thereof, if they deceive our expectation: but not paſt three of the Council know of Winter's going.*

Concerning the unreaſonable words of princes, he ſaith, *If hereof the Embaſſador* (meaning the French) *ſhall make any ſiniſter report, you may as you ſee cauſe well maintain the Queen's anſwer to be very reaſonable, as having cauſe to miſlike the manner of Writing of the Queen thereon: which nevertheleſs you may impute to the unadviſedneſs of the Secretary: for ſo the Queen's Majeſty doth impute it.*

Of the troubles in Scotland, he obſerved the French made their preſent advantage to the damage of England; and you know that Scotland is the French king to it, as Ireland is the Spaniſh.

Of forraign news he writes to ſir Henry Norris, *That he would be glad to have a Note of the Names of the chiefeſt Nobility of France, and with whom they may be married: adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their lineage and degrees, as you ſhall think meet.*

He

Q. Eliz. He writes, that her majeſty being a prince herſelf, is doubtful to give countenance to ſubjects. *I wiſh* (ſaith he) *to have a Kalender of them who are with the Prince, and alſo to ſee the Edicts that have lately paſſed from the King againſt them, and that in theſe troubleſome times; wherein accidents are ſo diverſly reported, your advices were large and repeated, and that we had ſuch Articles as paſs on both ſides.*

Of France he ſaith, *You muſt think that ſeeing all the parts of Chriſtendome are intentive to hear of the matters of France, we cannot be careleſs to whom the ſame belongeth next of all, whatſoever the end thereof ſhall be.*

Of the diſtractions of France, thus to our embaſſador in France: *If you told the queen-mother ſo as of your own head, as a thing you hear ſpread abroad in the world, I think you might do well, and ſpeak truly: for as for the Pope's Miniſters, their Profeſſion is to prefer the weal of their own Church before the good ſtate of any Kingdome on earth; and whatſoever come of any thing, they look onely to the continuance of their own ambitious Ruling. And as for other Miniſters of Princes, or for men of War, it is a truth infallible, The more they do impoveriſh that Monarchy of France, the better they think their own Eſtates.*

Of a plot diſcovered, he writes: *We can truly hit no man, wherefore it is neceſſary that you ſpeak again with the Party that gave you this Intelligence: and if the matter be of truth, and not a diſguiſing to ſome other purpoſe, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the party in certainty, as thus to give a gueſs at him: for as he hath his intel-*

intelligence of the matter which he uttered to you, ſo may he attain to a more perfect knowledge. Q. Eliz.

For the proteſtants he ſaith, *I pray you put them in comfort; that if extreamity ſhall happen, they muſt not be left: for it is ſo univerſal a cauſe, as none of the Religion can ſeperate themſelves one from another. We muſt all pray together, and ſtand faſt together.*

Of a profeſſor he writes, *The Queen's Majeſty will in no wiſe hear of ſuch matters, which ſhe thinketh are but changeable, and without fruit; although I had earneſtly moved her majeſty to have adventured ſome ſmall piece of money upon ſuch a man: therefore I ſee no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with good words.*

Touching the plot again: *Methinks that the Parties that tell you ſuch pieces of tales, if the whole were true, might as well tell you the whole, as ſuch obſcure parts: which if they do not, you might well alledge them to be but devices to breed unquietneſs and ſuſpition; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the truth of the matter might be diſcloſed: and ſurely methinks ſtill, ſince the informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that theſe things are intended to bring us into their places: but yet no diligence is to be omitted.*

Touching the delivery of an embaſſie, he writes, *And I think if you would in the Tranſlating thereof diſtribute it into ſundry members by way of Articles, you ſhall the better carry it in your minde; making thereby an account with your ſelf of the better delivery thereof. And you ſhall do well to let ſome ſuch as favour the intention of the Queen's Meſſage, to ſee the Copy of the Letter; whereby*

they

Q. Eliz. *they may percaſe being called to give advice to the King, further the cauſe, to the benefit of them of the Religion. I would be glad to hear a Brief, or as they call it, a Liſt of the Names of the principal perſons that have a charge now in theſe Wars of France on both parts, with the Contents as near as you can of their numbers.*

Of the Queen of Scots affairs, he concludes: *God ſend her Majeſty clear of theſe Scottiſh matters, whereinto the entry is eaſie, but the paſſage within doubtful; and I fear the end will be monſtrous: I am thrown into a maze at this, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildway and I are ſent to the Scottiſh Queen, as by the Queen's Majeſties Letters you may ſee: God be our Guide; for neither of us like the Meſſage.*

1. Knowledge is the treaſure of the mind, diſcretion is the key: the practick part of wiſdom is the beſt: a native ingenuity is beyond the watchings of induſtrious ſtudy.

There are no ſuch guards of ſafety as vertue and wiſdome: danger cannot make impreſſion on the vertuous: nor fortune ſubvert the wiſe: the *Wiſe man cannot fall.* Prudence is a ſafe conduct through the various caſualties of mortality. He declines in wiſdome, that falls in fortune, Diſcretion ſways the ſtars and fate.

Ad ſummum ſapiens uno minor eſt Jove, *dives; Liber, Honoratus, pulcher, Rex deniq; regum.*

" *Take all there's but one* Jove *above him: He*
" *Is Rich, Fair, Noble, King of Kings, and free.*

The

The world is a ſhop of inſtruments, whereof the wiſe man is maſter; and a kingdome but a frame of engines, whereunto he is the wheel. Q. Eliz.

2. Smoothneſs declineth envy and danger, humility advanceth to honour, moderation preſerves in it. Men come down by domineering. Haſte undoeth that, which a juſt delay ripeneth. Our wiſe man would ſay, *Stay a little and we will have done the ſooner.* An eſtate evened with theſe thoughts, endureth. It's an excellent motto:

Nolo Minor me timeat, deſpiciat ve Major.

" *My inferiour ſhall not fear, my Superiour ſhall*
" *not deſpiſe me,*

3. Humility ſhuns honour, and is the way to it: the pureſt gold is moſt ductile. It's commonly a good blade that bends well. The reed that bends and is whole, is better than the ſtrong oak that not bending breaks.

4. There is no ſuch prevalent work-man as ſedulity and diligence: a man would wonder at the mighty things which have been done by degrees, and gentle augmentations. Patience, diligence and moderation are the common ſteps to excellency. It's for omnipotence to do mighty things in a moment; but degreeingly to grow to greatneſs, is the courſe he hath left for man.

Obſervations on the Life of Walter Devereux *Earl of* Eſſex.

Lloyd. WALTER DEVEREUX was by his * mother's ſide born to, and by his ſovereign's favour poſſeſſed of the earldome of Eſſex; his ſpirit was as the time martial and active, equally impatient of ruſt in his ſoul, and in his ſword: Forreign countries bred then thoſe ſouldiers that England employed; the univerſity made a ſcholar, the court a man, and Flanders the ſouldier.

His actions brought him to the preſence, and his preſence commended him to the heart of queen Elizabeth; but the ſhadow doth not more naturally attend the ſun, than envy doth favour: ſince he muſt riſe, its contrived he ſhould riſe ſo high, that he muſt fall: Yet he might have lived longer, it was thought, if his wife had not there more favour than himſelf; Abraham was afraid *of*, and ſir Walter was undone *by* his Sarah's beauty; this is certain, he was no ſooner in his grave, than the ſame great man whom he declared his enemy at his death, was his ſucceſſor in his marriage-bed.

Ambitious was he of the Iriſh ſervice, and ſubtle were others to fill up his ſayls ſo wide, as to be over-turned; at once diving into, and ruining him by his humour; weary was he of the cou[illegible] and weary, as he obſerved, was that of him; [illegible] come[illegible]

* Cicely daughter of Thomas Bourchier late earl of Eſſex.

comes Leiceſter in this juncture, and advanceth to the ſovereign honour of maintaining an army at his own charge, and the royalty of Claudboy in Ulſter; the firſt he knew would (as it fell out) undo him; the other was the bear's ſkin, when he could catch, kill, and fley it; and the whole plot was but ſupplanting of him out of a *real* eſtate in England and Wales, to an *imaginary* one in Ireland. Over he goeth with as ſplendid a retinue of kindred, friends, ſupernumerarie volunteers, as his ſon to the ſame ſervice, or his grandſon to one more unhappy; Sir William Fitz-William's jealouſie heard of his parade, and his induſtry out-reached him ſo far, that all that preparation amounted to no more honour, than to have been commiſſioned, after much importunity and attendance, by him; nor to any more advantage than the bare government of Ulſter. Little good did he in Ulſter, (now under the diſcouraging and heartleſs impreſſions of diſcontent) leſs in the South of Ireland, whither he was remanded by the deputy, whoſe deſign was not to ſee how ſucceſsfully he would conquer, but how dutifully he would obey, in ſix months time ſpending 4000 l. to ruin himſelf: but alas! in vain doth he conquer; who was always forbid to purſue and improve his victory: for no ſooner did his fortune favour him in one place, but he was called to his misfortune in another; for no ſooner doth he by experience and acquaintance with the ſituation of any place, the humour or intereſt of any people, the weakneſſes and ſtrengths of any enemy, the advantages or diſadvantages of any undertaking, ripen circumſtances towards ſucceſs, but he is called off to a new and unacquainted ſcene of action, where he

Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. ſhall *loſe* his army, before he knoweth how to *employ* it. His friends at court grew few and cold, his foes many and active; his affronts continual to diſorder him by paſſion, or ſink him in deſpair.

His commiſſion was but ſhort before, but is none now; only three hundred men ſtick to him: his money failing, his noble followers withdrawing, his common ſouldiers mutiny, and he is recalled. And happy had he been, could he have been quiet: but nothing would compleat ſome men's deſigns but his ruin; and nothing could ruin him but honour, that at once pleaſed his humour, and waſted his eſtate. Earl-marſhal of Ireland he is made, and thither he goeth in great ſtate to die, anno 1576, and the 36 of his age: a year fatal to that family, which none of them exceeded but the laſt, who had been happy if he had died ſooner, or lived longer than he did. Although ſir Walter Devereux had not ſucceſs over others which his *valour* deſerved, yet he had that conqueſt of himſelf that *vertue* onely gives; ſhewing himſelf as good at the buckler, as at the ſword; at ſuffering, as well as acting. All his changes from without he bore with, none within; his even and ſolide minde that faſhioned its own fate, enjoying its conſtant calm amidſt all the tempeſts of malice and ambition. Thoſe ignoble courſes were not greater arguments of his enemies narrowneſs and degeneracy, than his reſolved patience was of his largeneſs and generouſneſs of ſpirit; he being as much above thoſe ſmaller tricks, as they were below his adverſaries. We make ourſelves more injuries than are offered us; and the apprehenſion of wrong doth more harm

harm than the ſmarteſt part of the wrong itſelf. Q. Eliz.
It's the wiſe man's glory, and the ſtates-man's prudence to *paſs by offences*. A fool ſtruck Cato in the Bath; and when he was ſorry for it, Cato had forgot it: for, (ſaith Seneca) *Melius putavit non agnoſcere quam ignoſcere*. Light injuries are made none by a not-regarding: which with a purſuing revenge grow both to heighth and burden, and live to miſchief us, when they might die to ſecure us. *It's Princely* (ſaith one) *to diſdain a wrong*, who when embaſſadors have offered undecences, uſe not to chide, but deny them audience: as if ſilence were the way royal to revenge a wrong. The upper region is moſt compoſed; *the wiſeſt rage the leaſt*, knowing that obſervation and reſentment do but provoke and encourage that malice which neglect and ſilence deads and diſſipates. And it was ſir Walter's father's maxime, That diſcontent was the greateſt weakneſs of a generous ſoul, which is always ſo intent upon its unhappineſs, that it forgets its remedies.

This lord was a great inſtance of that maxime, That it's an equal miſchief to diſtruſt all, as to believe all; although of the two, the ſafeſt is to *diſtruſt*: for fear had ſecured this noble perſon, while confidence ruined him; it being a vertue onely when men were innocent, but ever ſince, the bane of thoſe that own it.

Three things undid this earl:

1. That he could not imagine he was to be ruined by his advancement.
2. That he never miſtruſted an oath.

Q. Eliz. 3. That he never conſidered that as princes, ſo favourites, *have many eyes, and long hands*

He that is ſo open as to reſerve nothing from Friends, is renowned for charity; but he that is ſo to lie at the mercy of all, is marked for ruin. No ſooner underſtood my lord of Leiceſter Eſſex his diſpoſition, but the bitter fool Pace could tell his fortune, begging of my lord at his departure the making of his mourning, and adding, *You and I have done for this world.*

Walter earl of Eſſex had been happy if he had not lived in my lord of Leiceſter's time: his ſon Robert renowned, had he not been ſir Robert Cecil's contemporary; and his grandchilde an heroe, had he not known my lord Say and Mr. Hampden.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas Ratclif *Earl of* Suſſex.

Lloyd. THOMAS RATCLIF Earl of Suſſex, was of a very noble and antient lineage, honoured thro' many deſcents by the title of viſcounts Fitz-Walters. He was a goodly gentleman, and of a brave noble nature, true and conſtant to his friends and ſervants, noted for honeſty: a very excellent ſouldier, being one of the queen's martialiſts, who did very good ſervice in Ireland at her firſt acceſſion till ſhe recalled him to the court, where ſhe made him lord chamberlain; and though he was not endowed with the cunning-

ningneſs and dexterity as others were, yet upon his death-bed he gave his friends a caveat whom they ſhould beware. His words, (ſaith ſir Robert Naunton) are theſe: *I am now paſſing into another world, and muſt leave you to your fortunes and to the queen's graces: but beware of the gypſie for he will be too hard for you all: you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do.* His proweſs and integrity drew the ſouldiers after him, Leiceſter's courtſhip and cunning the courtiers, Cecil's prudence and ſervice the ſtateſmen. Q. Eliz.

This Thomas Ratclif lord Fitz-Walter, ſecond earl of Suſſex of that ſirname, was twice lord deputy of Ireland, by his prudence he prevented the breaking out of an actual rebellion in that kingdome, and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, ſeeing his diligence diſperſed the clouds before they could gather together. Thus he who cures a diſeaſe may be ſkilfulleſt, but he that prevents it is the beſt phyſician.

Being called home by the queen to be lord chamberlain, a conſtant court faction was maintained between him and Robert earl of Leiceſter, theſe two parties dividing the court, whilſt the Cecilians as neuters did look upon them; Suſſex had a great eſtate left by his anceſtors, Leiceſter as great given or reſtored him by the queen. Suſſex was the honeſter man, and greater ſoldier; Leiceſter the more facete courtier, and deep politician, not for the general good, but his own particular profit. Great was the animoſity betwixt them, and what in vain the queen endeavoured, death performed, taking this earl away: and ſo the competition ended. New-hall in Eſſex was the place (if not of his birth) of his prin

Q. Eliz. principal habitation. He lyeth buried in the church of St. Olaves Hartſtreet, London.

The firſt of queen Elizabeth found this brave earl commanding Ireland in peace and plenty, with three hundred and twenty horſe, and eight hundred and ſixty foot, prudently garriſon'd and well payd; and the ſecond employed him thither again, with inſtructions, that he ſhould beware above all things, leſt the Iriſh, being an uncivil people, and therefore the more ſuperſtitious, ſhould by the cunning practices of the French, be excited to rebellion under the pretext of religion.

2. That he ſhould fortify Ophale with caſtles and forts.

3. That he ſhould engage the ſoldiers with large poſſeſſions.

4. That the Iriſh nobility ſhould hold their eſtates in fee.

5. That he ſhould improve the queen's revenues moderately, and reduce her exchequer there, to the form of that in England.

At what time Maximilian the emperor courted queen Elizabeth, whom all Engliſhmen wiſhed marryed, all proteſtants married to a proteſtant, and the earl of Leiceſter had deſigned for himſelf, there aroſe a deadly feud in the Engliſh court between the earl of Suſſex, that favoured the match upon common principles of government, and the earl of Leiceſter who oppoſed it upon a private deſign of his own; certainly very great and ſhameful hopes do they foſter, who have already attained things beyond hopes. The open-hearted earl would call his antagoniſt an upſtart

that

that had but two anceſtors, his father, a traytor; Q. Eliz.
and his grand-father, a publican. Thus the
court is divided, the earls are alwayes attended
with their armed guards, until the queen who
took pleaſure in the innocent emulation of her
women, became fearful of the dangerous con-
teſts of her favourites, and rather ſkinned over,
than healed the rupture.

At the emperour's court, whither he is ſent
with the order of St. George, he preſſeth the
marriage cloſely, as much out of love to his
countrey, as hatred to Leiceſter; having nothing
more ordinary in his diſcourſe than that a foreign
prince was to be preferred before the nobleſt
Engliſh-man for the three grand things, of ho-
nour, power, and wealth. But what he promoted
publickly, the lord North, who was joyned with
him rather as his guardian than his colleague,
oppoſed privately, untill a few fond ſcruples broke
the moſt ſolemn negotiations wherein yet this
earl behaved himſelf with a gallantry that gained
him a familiarity from the emperour, a reverence
from the arch-duke, a reſpect from the people,
and his miſtreſs a kindneſs in that court, that
ſtood her in great ſtead againſt the attempts of
Spain and Rome.

From Germany he returned with much ho-
nour to command in the north with more, where
he found his old ſetters at court diſcovered the
[illegible]nd plot in the north, as Hunſdon and his old
[illegible]ouldiers at Berwick defeated it, and both har-
raſſed the Scottiſh borders: all things yielding
to thoſe two grand diſpoſers of the world, now
predominant in England, Wiſdome and Cecil at
home, Armes and Hunſdon abroad; and both
with

Q. Eliz. with Suſſex at home, now for his approved wiſdome and fidelity made privy councellour, and abroad alway lord general.

Of many I pitch on this one argument of the greatneſs of his mind, that he ſcorned to trample the proſtrate; that he had a juſt paſſion, but not an unworthy malice for an enemy whom he had a generous goodneſs to pity when unhappy, as well as a brave ſpirit to conteſt with when injurious. The leſſer fry of adverſaries railed againſt, this great one pleaded for Leiceſter, when his practices againſt Anjou's marriage with the queen confined him to the caſtle of Windſor. And his menaces had caſt him to the Tower of London, had not my lord, minding more the common intereſt than his private reſentments, firſt moderated the queen's paſſion with reaſon, and then overcame it with this jeſt, *you muſt allow lovers their jealouſie.*

He ſucceeded his father in his fortune, and in his favour; his prudence and reſolution promoting him to the government of Ireland and the North; his good huſbandry and ſkill in ſurveying making him juſtice in Eyre of all the parks beyond Trent; and his comely preſence advancing him lord chamberlain. Queen Elizabeth poyzed her ſtate by factions abroad, and parties at home; her chiefeſt wiſdome lying in her general correſpondence and compliance with each party, and her intereſt lay in their complyance and diſtance from one another. My lord of Suſſex left this memorial behind him, That for riſing men to ſtick to a ſide, is neceſſary; for great men to be indifferent, is wiſe: and this, That he and my lord of Leiceſter cleared and purged the court; their

their croſs obſervations refining each perſon that Q. Eliz
was admitted to court; none daring any injuſtice
while Leiceſter obſerved him on the one hand, and Suſſex puniſhed him on the other. Then no deſerving perſon could be excluded by the one, that could ſerve his prince; nor any undeſerving one admitted that might diſparage him: one intereſt being ſure to receive the one, as the other was to exclude the other,

Divers perſons (ſaith one) of equal authority, though *both wicked*, do in experience produce more juſtice than a greater probity in a ſingle individual hath been heard to pronounce; in a divided court the creatures of one party being the enemies of another, no leſs powerful; and ſo they both become liable to accuſation, or capable of defence: and from the ſparkles of this claſhing, not onely perſons and actions, but the publick councils came to be refined from the ruſts and cankers that grow by an unanimity. Faction can be as little ſpared in a monarchy, as an eye or an ear, as through which the prince hath a clearer apprehenſion of his own and others affairs, than he can have when his followers are all agreed; through the percuſſion of equal factions, as thro' that of flint and ſteel, all things coming to light by debates, that might either advance or eclipſe a prince's glory.

When my lord of Suſſex could not overbear Leiceſter with power, he did it with policy; and by yielding to him, conquered him: for (as he obſerved) when he and his friends retired, Leiceſter and his ſubdivided; and he was checked more by the ambition he taught his own followers, than by the competition of his adverſaries.

When

Q. Eliz. When factions are carried too high, and too violently, it is a ſigne of weakneſs in princes, and much to the prejudice of their authority and buſineſs: the motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the aſtronomers ſpeak) of the inferiour orbs, which may have their proper inclination, but yet are ſtill quietly carried by the higher motion of the *Primum Mobile*. Queen Elizabeth had an happy time of it, if it were but for this, That her favourites diviſions were her ſupport; for thereby ſhe attained the knowledge of all things that happened, ſo as no ſuit or deſigne paſſed the royal aſſent, before ſhe underſtood as much of reaſon as enemies or friends could bring for or againſt it.

Verulams Eſſays.

The character this third great lord of his family left behind him, was, "This year died a "man of a great ſpirit and faithfulneſs to his coun- "try:" and therefore none freer than he of his thoughts, none ſounder than he in his councels. Nor did this freedom of communication betray his future reſolutions to the diſcovery of his enemies, as they opened his heart to the obſervation of his prince: for through a ſeeming unconſtancy, not of words but of action; not his weakneſs but his nimbleneſs, (the bird on the wing is ſafe) he could ſo often vary, as it was not eaſie to diſcover where or when he would be buzzing, and give the blow: by which unſteady carriage he ſo befooled his adverſaries with their ſpies and penſioners, as they were at a loſs what to inform their patrons of, or themſelves how to reſolve. Fortune and conduct ſet up this favourite, it falling in his character as at Primero, and other plays, wherein fortune is directed and conducted by

by art. The beſt and ſubtleſt gameſter may loſe, if it croſs him; but if it ſmiles and favours, he knoweth beſt how to manage and govern it. Q. Eliz.

Five things raiſed this perſon to a reſpect as great as his fortune; to be as high in the queen's favour, as he was in his deſcent.

1. A civility ſet off with ſtate.

2. A pleaſing modeſty of countenance, and affability of ſpeech, ennameled with gravity.

3. A boldneſs attended with patience.

4. A great capacity, enliven'd with as great dexterity. And

5. An integrity ſecured with warineſs in the darke, of which quality both in his expreſſion, and in his actions he wrapped himſelf as the * *ſepia* to preſerve her ſelf undiſcovered, doth ſhed forth about her a quantity of bluſhes in her blood to hide herſelf from the Fiſherman.

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Willoughby.

THE Lord Willoughby was one of the queen's firſt ſword-men: he was of the antient extract of the Bartues, but more ennobled by his mother, who was dutcheſs of Suffolk. He was a great maſter of the art military, and was ſent general into France, and commanded the ſecond of five armies that the queen ſent thither in aid of the French. As he was a great ſouldier, Lloyd.

ſo

* The cuttle Fiſh.

Q. Eliz. ſo was he of a ſutable magnanimity, and could not brook the obſequiouſneſs and aſſiduity of the court at that time. He had more favour than he courted, and he courted more (rather to comply with the queen's humour, than his own inclination) than he deſired. He would ſay, and that ſaying did him no good, (ſaith ſir Robert Naunton) that he was none of the *Reptilia*, being made rather to march as a ſouldier, than to creep as a courtier. But civility muſt allay nature in a courtier, prudence regulate it in a ſtates-man, and modeſt ſubmiſſion check and ſoften it in a ſubject. It's as dangerous to be ſtubbornly *above* the kindneſs, as it is to be factiouſly *againſt* the power of princes. Willoughby got nothing, Stanley loſt all by his haughtineſs; which when it cannot be *obliged*, is *ſuſpected*. But his ſervice in France, Holland, and on the borders, compounded for his roughneſs: ſo that they who could not endure he ſhould be high at court, were pleaſed he ſhould be ſo in the field. Stiffneſs which diſpleaſed when looked on as pride at home, took when heard to be reſolution abroad. Each nature is advanced in its own element: Leiceſter among the ladies, my lord Willoughby among the ſouldiers. Its a ſtep to greatneſs to know our *own way* to it; to exerciſe and ſhew our proper vertues as he did: his magnanimity in theſe two inſtances, among many others.

Camden

1. When one challenged him, then ſick of the gout, he ſaid, *That though he were lame in his feet and hands, yet he would carry a Rapier in his teeth to fight his Adverſary.*

2. Having

2. Having taken a Spaniſh gennet deſigned a preſent to that king, and being offered either 1000 *l.* or 100 *l.* a year in exchange for it, he nobly anſwered, *If it had been a Commander, he would have freely releaſed him; but being onely a Horſe, he ſaw no reaſon he could not keep a good Horſe as well as the King of Spain himſelf.* Sir Chriſtopher Hatton was to an exceſs a courtier, and my lord Willoughby ſo a ſouldier. Q. Eliz.

Queen Elizabeth *to the Lord* Willoughby.

Good Peregrine.

WE are not a little glad that by your journey you have received ſuch good fruit of amendment; ſpecially when we conſider what great vexations it is to a mind devoted to actions of honour to be reſtrained by any indiſpoſition of body from following thoſe courſes, which to your own reputation and our great ſatisfaction you have formerly performed. And therefore (as we muſt out of our deſire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoyn you to an eſpecial care to encreaſe and continue your health, which muſt give life to all your beſt endeavours; ſo we muſt next as ſeriouſly recommend to you this conſideration, that in theſe times, when there is ſuch appearance that we ſhall have the

tryal

Q. Eliz. tryal of our beſt noble ſubjects, you ſeem not to affect the ſatisfaction of your own private contentation beyond the attending of that which nature and duty challengeth from all perſons of your quality and profeſſion. For if neceſſarily (your health of body being recovered) you ſhould eloign your ſelf by reſidence there from thoſe employments whereof we ſhall have too good ſtore, you ſhall not ſo much amend the ſtate of your body, as happily you ſhall call in queſtion the reputation of your mind and judgement, even in the opinion of thoſe that love you, and are beſt acquainted with your diſpoſition and diſcretion.

Interpret this our plainneſs we pray you to our extraordinary eſtimation of you; for it is not common with us to deal ſo freely with many: and believe that you ſhall ever find us both ready and willing in all occaſions to yield you the fruits of that intereſt, which your endeavours have purchaſed for you in our opinion and eſtimation: not doubting, but when you have with moderation made tryal of the ſucceſs of theſe your ſundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to ſpend your days at home as heretofore you have done: of which we do wiſh you full meaſure, howſoever you ſhall have cauſe of abode or return. Given under our Signet at

at our mannor of Nonſuch, the ſeventh of Q. Eliz. October 1594, in the 37 year of our reign,

Your moſt loving Soveraign,

E. R.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Philip Sidney.

HE was ſon to ſir Henry Sidney lord deputy of Ireland, and preſident of Wales. A perſon of great parts, and in no mean grace with the queen. His mother was ſiſter to my lord of Leiceſter, from whence we may conjecture, how the father ſtood up in the place of honour and employment; ſo that his deſcent was apparently noble on both ſides. For his education, it was ſuch as travel and the univerſity could afford: for after an incredible proficiency in all the ſpecies of learning, he left the academical life for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed aforehand by a noble report of his accompliſhments; by which, together with the ſtate of his perſon, framed by a natural propenſion to arms, he ſoon attracted the good opinion of all men; and was ſo highly prized in the good opinion of the queen, that ſhe thought the court deficient without him: and whereas (through the fame of his deſerts) Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. he was in the election for the kingdome of Poland, ſhe refuſed to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to loſe the jewel of her times. He married the daughter and ſole heir of ſir Francis Walſingham, then ſecretary of ſtate: a lady deſtinated to the bed of honour, who (after his deplorable death at Zutphen in the Netherlands, where he was governour of Fluſhing, at the time of his uncles being there) was married to my lord of Eſſex, and ſince his death to my lord of St. Alban's; all perſons of the ſword, and otherwiſe of great honour and vertue. He had an equal temperament of *Mars* and *Mercury*, valour and learning, to as high a pitch as nature and art could frame, and fortune improve him: ſo dexterous, that he ſeemed born for every thing he went about. His repreſentations of vertue and vice, were not more lively in his books, than in his life; his fancy was not above his vertue: his humours, counſels and actions, were renowned in the romancer, heroick in the ſtates-man. His ſoul was as large as his parents, and his complexion as noble; an equal line of both: the modeſty of the mother allaying the activity of the father. A man ſo ſweetly grave, ſo familiarly ſtaid, ſo prettily ſerious he was above his years: wiſdome gained by travel, experience raiſed from obſervations, ſolid and uſeful learning drawn from knowing *Languet* his three years companion, and choiceſt books, accompliſhed him for the love of all, and the reverence of moſt. His converſe was not more cloſe at home, than his correſpondence abroad; equally mixed with policy, pleaſure, wiſdome and love: his worth being pen-

penned up, and ſmothered within the narrowneſs of his fortune, ſallied not out to diſcontent, but pleaſure; ſweetning the affairs of ſtate with the debonnareneſs of the ſtage; his romance being but policy played with *Machiavel* in jeſt, and ſtate-maximes ſweetned to a courtier's palate. He writ men as exactly as he ſtudied them, and diſcerned humours in the court with the ſame deep inſight he deſcribed them in his book. His infant-diſcourſes teach *men*, O what had his riper years done! Q. Eliz.

He put life into dead notions of anceſtors, made philoſophy practicable; joyned the arts as cloſely in him, as they are in themſelves. His book is below his ſpirit; a ſpirit to be confined with kingdomes, rather than ſtudies; to do what was to be written, than onely to write what was to be done. * All eyes were upon him but his own: at firſt, in all affairs he was the laſt; at laſt, he was the firſt: obliging all men that ever he ſaw, and ſeeing all that were worth obliging: all were pleaſed with his *Arcadia* but himſelf, whoſe years advanced him ſo much beyond himſelf, as his parts did beyond others; he condemned his *Arcadia* in his more retired judgment to the fire, which wiſe men think will continue to the laſt conflagration. His private correſpondence with William of Naſſau about the higheſt affairs of Europe, was ſo exact and prudent that he aſſured ſir Fulke Grevil he deſerved a kingdome in forreign parts, though he had not an office in England. The earl of Leiceſter held his authority in the low-countries by his counſel when *alive*, and gave it over when he was *dead*.

Q. Eliz. Sir Francis Walſingham was ſo much overſhot by him in his own bow, that thoſe with whom ſir Philip were acquainted with for his ſake, were his friends for ſir Philip's. King James was honoured when king of Scotland with his friendſhip, Henry the fourth with his correſpondence, Don Juan highly obliged with his viſits, the king of Spain himſelf concerned in his death, whom England (he ſaid) loſt in a *moment*, but could not breed in an *Age*, the univerſities were proud of his patronage, the field of his preſence: the ſtudious in all parts communicated with him; the hopeful were encouraged by him; all excellent perſons thronged to him; all ſerviceable men were entertained by him; and he among them a prince, whoſe minde was great, but his ſpirit greater. He taught England the majeſty of honeſt dealing, the intereſt of being religious. He looked deep into men and councels, and found *no Wiſdom without Courage*, no *Courage without Religion and Honeſty*: with which ſolid and active reaches of his, I am perſwaded (ſaith my lord Brooks) he would have found or made a way through all the traverſes even of the moſt weak and irregular times. Although a private gentleman, he was a publick good; of a large yet uniform diſpoſition: ſo good, that the great monarch *might* truſt; ſo great, that a little one *muſt* fear him; ſomething he did for fame, moſt for conſcience: his publick ſpirit, which might have enjealouſed the cautelous wiſdome of other princes, promoted the concerns of his own. He was ſent to complement Rodolph, but he dealt really with the proteſtant princes, and raiſed a ceremony to a piece of intereſt.

tereſt. He ſhewed that long-breathed and cauti- Q. Eliz.
ous people, that eminent danger from Rome's ſuperſtition, joyned with Spain's power, their private confederacies and practices, their cruelty and deſigne; which awaked their drowzy warineſs into an aſſociation for conſcience and religion more ſolid, as he demonſtrated, than a combination out of policy. He went againſt the ſtream and current about the French match, which he diſſwaded from the conſequent inconveniencies of engagements and charge to England, and the little advantage from France; backing his argument with a late experience; and ſo ſtaying queen Elizabeth's match by ſome reflexions on queen Mary's: which was, "A "five years deſigne or tax, rather than a mar- "riage: *adding withal*, that in a forreign match, "beſides the unequalneſs and danger of it (when "a ſtrange prince hath ſuch an influence on our "conſtitution) the different religion would "make the queen either quit the reputation of "a good proteſtant, or the honour of an obe- "dient wife.

Ten ways he laid down a forreign prince might endanger our religion by.

1. Oppoſing and weakning the reverend fathers of our church.

2. By diſgracing her moſt zealous miniſters.

3. By latitude and connivance.

4. By a looſe and too free a behaviour, ſteering mens conſciences which way he pleaſed, and ſetting up indifferency.

5. By decrying cuſtomes and ſtatutes, and enhanſing proclamations to the authority of laws.

Q. Eliz. 6. By provoking the Engliſh with French oppreſſions.

7. By entrenching on the Britiſh liberties with *Gallicane* prerogatives.

8. By breaking our league and correſpondence with other proteſtant ſtates.

9. Frightning our queen to a complyance.

10. And at laſt attempting the proteſtant cauſe.

He would ſay to his friend the lord Brooks, "that if the Netherlands joyn with France, "they are terrible to Spain: if with Spain, they "are dreadful to France: if with us, they "ſupport the reformation: if they ſtand on "their own legs, they are too ſtrong to be forced "to pyracy." He, though a private perſon, oppoſed her majeſty queen Elizabeth in that affair, with that ſincerity, with that ingenuity, that freedome, that duty and peaceableneſs, that angered and pleaſed her. His opinion was not more *againſt* her humour, than his manage of it was to her minde: in which affair, when moſt were hood-winked with ignorance, and many captived with fear, he enjoyed the freedome of his own thoughts with dayly acceſs to her *Majeſty*, hourly converſe with the *French*, and conſtant reſpect from the people. None more dutiful to his ſoveraign than ſir Philip, none more reſolute againſt encroachers upon gentlemen and freemen, none more dear to the whole ſtate: which when he had deſigned ſir Francis Drake's ſecond voyage, and ſtolen to him at Windſor, commanded his ſtay by an earl, and for his ſake the whole fleets, although his ſtay diſturbed, and his death de-

deſtroyed his moſt exact model for the conqueſt of America, the exacteſt Europe ever ſaw: a conqueſt not to be enterprized but by ſir Philip's reaching ſpirit, that graſped all circumſtances, and commanded all intereſts on this ſide the line. Q. Eliz.

When his great ſoul could not *improve Europe*, he *conſidered* it; and made that the field of his meditation, that could not be the ſtage of his actions: England he ſaw ſo humourſome and populous, that it was to be refined with war, and corrupted with peace. Her intereſt was, he ſaid, to balance neighbour-princes. France he obſerved weak and effeminate, the empire enſlaved and ſecure, the Hanſes too big, Rome ſubtle and undermining, Spain crept to the power and councils of Europe, the proteſtant princes enjealouſed and diſtruſtful, Poland divided, Denmark ſtrong, Sweden invironed or impriſoned, the Muſcovite diſtreſſed and ignorant, the Switz enemies, yet ſervants to monarchs, (a dangerous body for the ſoul of any aſpiring monarch to infuſe deſignes into) the princes of Italy awed by their ſuperiours, and cautious againſt their equals; Turkie aſleep in the Seraglio; but Spain all this while maſter of Rome, and the wiſeſt council or conclave in the world; lord of the mines of America, and the ſword of Europe: concluding, that while the Spaniard had peace, pope money or credit, and the world men, neceſſity or humours, the war could hardly be determined upon this low-country-ſtage; and that there were but two ways to conquer Spain, the one, that which diverted Hannibal: and by ſetting fire on his own houſe,

made

Q. Eliz. made him draw his ſpirit to comfort his heart: the other, that of Jaſon, by fetching away his golden fleece, and not ſuffering any one quietly to enjoy that which every man ſo much affected. The aſſiſtance of Portugal, the ſurprize of Cales her key, and Sevil her treaſure; the drawing in ofother well-willers; the command of the ſea, an exact intelligence; the protection of Rochel, Breſt, Bourdeaux, or ſome other diſtreſſed proteſtant, to balance the over-mytred countries, the encouragement of religious or ambitious roytolets to advance and ſecure themſelves, the engaging the French and Spaniards, a league with Venice and the maritime ſtates: ſome temptations to Italy to remove their French and Spaniſh garriſons, an opportunity to recover Sicilly, ſome inſinuations to the pope of the Auſtrian greatneſs, the ſetting up of the world in an Æquilibrium, the invaſion of America, removing the diffidence, overpoyzing the neutrality, and working upon the complexions of kings and kingdomes, were this young, but great man's deſigne.

An expedition to the Indies he would perſwade with theſe motives:

1. That honour was cheaper abroad than at home; at ſea, than at land.

2. That the Spaniſh conqueſts like the Jeſuites miracles, made more noiſe at a diſtance than nearer hand.

3. That the Indians would joyn with the firſt undertakers againſt their cruel maſters.

4. That Spain was too far for ſupply.

5. That the Spaniard was undiſciplined, and truſted more to the greatneſs of his name, than to order, policy or ſtrength.

6. That

6. That England was populous. Q. Eliz.

7. That it was an action compliant with the preſent humour, and not ſubject to emulations.

8. That it would either cut off the Spaniſh treaſure, or make it chargeable.

9. And at laſt ſet up a free trade by ſea, open a great door to valour or ambition for new conqueſts, and to zeal for new converts.

He ſaid the inquiſition would overthrow Spain, being a deſigne upon humane nature, and freedome; to govern men at the rate of beaſts. His great abilities recommended him to Leiceſter's cabinet, whoſe horſe he commanded in the field, whoſe council he guided at home. Prudent and valiant he was in contriving and executing the ſurprize of Axil: liberal and noble to his ſouldiers at Fluſhing; wary and deep-ſighted in his council about Graveline; wiſe and ſtayed in the jealouſies between Leiceſter and Hollock, his patience and reſolution before Zutphen, his quiet and compoſed ſpirit at Arneim, his chriſtian and religious comportment in his ſickneſs and death, made his fame as laſting as his life was wiſhed. And why died he lamented by the queen, mourned for by the court, bemoaned by Europe, wept over by religion and learning, the proteſtant churches, celebrated by kings, and eternized by fame; becauſe he was one whoſe parts were improved by early education, whoſe education was raiſed by experience, whoſe experience was enlarged by travel, whoſe travel was laid up in obſervations, whoſe obſervations were knit up to a ſolid wiſdome, whoſe wiſdome was graced with his preſence; and the one was as much admired by kings, as the other was by queens. K. H. 4. K. James.

One

Q. Eliz. One whoſe learning guided univerſities, whoſe alliance engaged favourites, whoſe preſence filled courts, whoſe ſoul graſped Europe, whoſe merit could fill a throne, whoſe ſpirit was above it. It was he who was deſerving and quiet, neglected and patient, great and familiar, ingenious and devout, learned and valiant, ſweet and ſolid, contemplative and active. It was he whom queen Elizabeth called her * Philip, the prince Orange his maſter, and whoſe friendſhip my lord Brooke was ſo proud of, that he would have no other epitaph on his grave than this, *Here lieth Sir Philip Sidney's Friend.* It was he whoſe laſt words were, *Love my memory, cheriſh my Friends; their faith to me may aſſure you they are honeſt: but above all, govern your will and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this world, and all its vanities.*

They that have known thee well, & ſearch thy parts
Through all the chain of Arts:
Thy apprehenſion quick as active light,
Clear Judgement, without Night:
Thy fancie free, yet never wild or mad,
With wings to fly but none to gad:
Thy language ſtill in rich, yet comely dreſs,
Not to expoſe thy minde, but to expreſs.
They that have known thee thus, ſigh, and confeſs,
They wiſh they'd known thee ſtill, or known thee leſs.
To theſe, the wealth and Beauties of thy minde,
Be other Vertues joyn'd,
Thy modeſt Soul, ſtrongly confirm'd and hard,
Ne'er beckned from its Guard.

* In oppoſition to him of Spain.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Perrot.

SIR John Perrot was a goodly gentleman, and of the ſword: and as he was of a very ancient deſcent, as an heir to many extracts of gentry, eſpecially from Guy de Bryan of Lawhern; ſo he was of a vaſt eſtate, and came not to the court for want. And to theſe adjuncts he had the endowments of courage, and the heighth of ſpirit, had it lighted on the allay of temper and diſcretion: the defect whereof, with a native freedome and boldneſs of ſpeech, drew him into a clouded ſetting, and laid him open to the ſpleen and advantage of his enemies. He was yet a wiſe man, and a brave courtier, but rough, and participating more of active than ſedentary motions, as being in his conſtellation deſtinated for arms. He was ſent lord-deputy into Ireland, where he did the queen very great and many ſervices: being out of envy accuſed of high-treaſon, and againſt the queen's will and conſent condemned, he died ſuddenly in the Tower. He was England's profeſſed friend, and ſir Chriſtopher Hatton's profeſſed enemy: he fell becauſe he would *ſtand* alone. In the Engliſh court at that time he that held not by Leiceſter's and Burleigh's favour, muſt yield to their frowns: what ground he gained in forreign merits, (as the ſea) he loſt in domeſtick intereſts. The moſt Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. moſt deſerving receſſes, and ſerviceable abſence from courts, is incompatible with the way of intereſt and favour. His boyſterous carriage rather removed than preferred him to Ireland, where he was to his coſt, what he would have been to his advantage; chief in command, and firſt in council. His ſpirit was too great to be ruled, and his intereſt too little to ſway. He was ſo like a ſon of Henry the * eighth, that he would not be queen Elizabeth's ſubject: but Hatton's ſly ſmoothneſs undermined his open roughneſs; the one *dancing* at court with more ſucceſs than the other *fought* in Ireland. He was born to enjoy, rather than to make a fortune; and to command, rather than ſtoop for reſpect. Boldneſs indeed is as neceſſary for a ſouldier, as the action for an orator; and is a prevailing quality over weak men at all times, and wiſe men at their weak times: yet it begins well, but continueth not; cloſing always with the wiſer ſorts ſcorns, and vulgars laughter. Sir John Perrot was better at counſel than complement, and better at execution than counſel. None worſe to command firſt on his own head, none better to ſecond, and under the direction of others. He could not adviſe, becauſe he looked not round on his dangers: he could execute, becauſe he ſaw them not. His alliance to his ſoveraign commended him at firſt to her favour, and gave him up at laſt to her jealouſie: being too near to be modeſt, and too bold to be truſted: and the more ſervice he performed, he was thereby onely the more dangerous, and withal

* They ſay his Father married a Familiar of King Henry's.

withal unhappy; his ſucceſſes onely puffing up his humor, and his victories ripening his ambition to thoſe fatal ſallies againſt the queen's honour and government, that had coſt him his life, had he not ſaved it with thoſe very rants he loſt himſelf by: for when he had out of an innocent confidence of his cauſe, and a haughty conceit of his extraction, exaſperated his noble jury to his condemnation, he had no more to ſay for himſelf than, *God's death, will the Queen ſuffer her Brother to be offered up as a ſacrifice to the envy of my friſking Adverſaries?* On which words the queen refuſed to ſign the warrant for his execution, though preſſed to it from reaſon and intereſt, ſaying, *They were all Knaves that condemned him.* It's obſerved of him, that the ſurpluſage of his ſervices in Ireland abated the merit of them; and that it was his overſight to have done too much there. His mortal words were thoſe in the great chamber of Dublin, when the queen ſent him ſome reſpectful letters after her expoſtulatory ones, with an intimation of the Spaniard's deſign: *Lo now,* (ſaith he) *ſhe is ready to piſs her ſelf for fear of the Spaniard; I am again one of her white Boys.* Q. Eliz.

A great birth and a great minde are cruſhed in commonwealths, and watched in kingdomes: they who are too tall to ſtand, too ſtubborn to bow, are but too fit to break. Ruffling ſpirits raiſe themſelves at the ſettlement of governments, but fall after it; being but unruly waves to a ſteady rock, breaking themſelves on that ſolid conſtitution they would break. Few aimed at favourites as ſir John did at the lord chancellor, but their arrows fell on their own heads: ſove-

raignty

Q. Eliz. raignty being alwayes ſtruck through prime counſellours, and majeſty through its chief miniſters. Sir John Perrot no ſooner claſhed with Hatton, than he loſt the queen; and ever ſince he reflected on *his* dancing, he loſt his *own* footing, and never ſtood on his legs.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Francis Walſingham.

Lloyd. HE was a gentleman (at firſt) of a good houſe, but of a better education; and from the univerſity travelled for the reſt of his learning. He was the beſt linguiſt of the times, but knew beſt how to uſe his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefeſt affairs of ſtate. He was ſent ambaſſadour into France, and ſtayed there a Leiger long, in the heat of the civil wars. At his return he was taken principal ſecretary, and was one of the great engines of ſtate, and of the times, high in the queen's favour, and a watchful ſervant over the ſafety of his miſtreſs. He acted the ſame part in the courts of France about that match, that Gundamor, if I be not miſtaken, (ſaith ſir Robert Naunton) did in the court of England about the Spaniſh. His apprehenſion was quick, and his judgement ſolid: his head was ſo ſtrong, that he could look into the depth of men and buſineſs, and dive into the whirlpools of ſtate. Dexterous he was in finding a ſecret, cloſe in keep-

Keeping it: much he had got by ſtudy, more by travel; which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. Cecil bred him his agent, as he bred hundreds. His converſe was inſinuating and reſerved: he ſaw every man, and none ſaw him. His ſpirit was as publick as his parts; and it was his firſt maxime, *Knowledge is never too dear:* yet as debonnair as he was prudent; and as obliging to the ſofter, but predominant parts of the world, as he was ſerviceable to the more ſevere: and no leſs dexterous to work on humours, than to convince reaſon. He would ſay, he muſt obſerve the joynts and flexures of affairs; and ſo could do more with a ſtory, than others could with an harangue. He always ſurprized buſineſs, and preferred motions in the heat of other diverſions; and if he muſt debate it, he would hear all; and with the advantage of aforegoing ſpeeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his reſolutions, he carried all before him in concluſion beyond reply. He out-did the Jeſuites in their own bowe, and over-reached them in their own equivocation, and mental reſervation; never ſetling a lye, but warily drawing out and diſcovering truth. As the cloſe room ſucketh in moſt air, ſo this wary man got moſt intelligence, being moſt of our papiſts confeſſour before their death, as they had been their brethrens before their treaſon. He ſaid what another writ, *That an habit of ſecrecy is policy and vertue.* To him mens faces ſpake as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. He would ſo beſet men with queſtions, and draw them on, and pick it out of them by piecemeals, that they diſcovered themſelves whether they Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. they anſwered or were ſilent. This Spaniſh proverb was familiar to him, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; and this, *Speak no more than you may ſafely retreat from without danger, or fairly go through with without oppoſition.* Some are good only at ſome affairs in their own acquaintance; Walſingham was ready every where, and could make a party in Rome as well as England. He waited on mens ſouls with his eye, diſcerning their ſecret hearts through their tranſparent faces.

He ſerved himſelf of the factions as his miſtreſs did, neither advancing the one, nor depreſſing the other: familiar with Cecil, allied to Leiceſter, and an oracle to Suſſex. He could overthrow any matter by undertaking it, and move it ſo as it *muſt* fall. He never broke any buſineſs, yet carried many: He could diſcourſe any matter with them that moſt oppoſed; ſo that they in oppoſing it, promoted it. His fetches and compaſs to his deſigned ſpeech, were things of great patience and uſe. Twice did he deceive the French as agent, once did he ſettle the Netherlands as commiſſioner, and twice did he alter the government of Scotland as embaſſadour. Once did France deſire he might be recalled, becauſe he was too hard for the council for the Hugonots; and once did Scotland requeſt his remand, becauſe he would have overturned their conſtitution: 53 agents did he maintain in foreign courts, and 18 ſpies: for two piſtoles an order, he had all the private papers of Europe: few letters eſcaped his hands, whoſe contents he could read and not touch the ſeals. Bellarmine read his lectures at Rome one moneth, and Reynolds

nolds had them confuted the next. So patient was this wiſe man, Chiſelhurſt never ſaw him angry, Cambridge never paſſionate and the court never diſcompoſed. Religion was the intereſt of his countrey, (in his judgment) and of his ſoul; therefore he maintained it as ſincerely as he lived it: it had his head, his purſe, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the proteſtant conſtitution as to its policy, and the main plot againſt the Popiſh as to its ruin. He would cheriſh a plot ſome years together, admitting the conſpirators to his own and the queen's preſence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully: his ſpies waited on ſome men every hour, for three years: and leſt they could not keep council, he diſpatched them to forraign parts, taking in new ſervants. His training Parry up who deſigned the murder of queen Elizabeth, the admitting of him under the pretence of diſcovering a plot to the queen's preſence, and then letting him go where he would, onely on the ſecurity of a dark ſentinel ſet over him, was a piece of reach and hazard beyond common apprehenſion. But kingdomes were acted by him, as well as private perſons. It is a likely report (ſaith one) that they father on him at his return from France, when the queen expreſſed her fear of the Spaniſh deſigne on that kingdome with ſome concernment, *Madam*, (ſaith he) *be content not to fear; the Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digeſtion; but I have fitted him with a bone for this twenty years, that your majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to doubt him: provided that if the fire chance to ſlack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then caſt in ſome Engliſh fuel* Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. *which may revive the flame.* He firſt obſerved the great biſhop of Wincheſter fit to ſerve the church, upon the unlikely youths firſt ſermon at St. Alhallows Barking: he brought my lord Cooke firſt to the church upon ſome private diſcourſe with him at his table. The queen of Scots letters were all carried to him by her own ſervant, whom ſhe truſted and decyphered to him by one Philips, as they were ſealed again by one Gregory, ſo that neither that queen or her correſpondents ever perceived either the ſeal defaced, or the letters delayed to her dying day. * *Video & Taceo*, was hisſaying, before it was his miſtreſſes motto.

He could as well fit king James his humour with ſayings out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus: as he could king Henry's with Rablais's conceits, and the Hollander with mechanick diſcourſes. In a word ſir Francis Walſingham was a ſtudious and temperate man; ſo publick-ſpirited, that he ſpent his eſtate to ſerve the kingdome; ſo faithful, that he beſtowed his years on his queen; ſo learned, that he provided a library for king's colledge of his own books; which was the beſt for policy, as Cecil's was for hiſtory, Arundels for heraldry, Cottons for antiquity, and Uſhers for divinity: finally, he equalled all the ſtateſmen former ages diſcourſe of and hardly hath been equalled by any in following ages.

Obſer-

* I ſee and hold my peace.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Leiceſter.

THE lord Leiceſter was the youngeſt ſon then living of Dudley duke of Northumberland: he was alſo one of the firſt to whom queen Elizabeth gave that honour to be maſter of the horſe. He was a very goodly perſon, and ſingular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a ſweet aſpect, but high foreheaded, which was taken to be of no diſcommendation: but towards his latter end grew high-coloured and red-faced. The queen made him earl of Leiceſter for the ſufferings of his anceſtors ſake, both in her fathers and ſiſter's reigns. The earl of Eſſex his death in Ireland, and the marriage of his lady yet living, deeply ſtains his commendation. But in the obſervations of his letters and writings, there was not known a ſtile or phraſe more religious, and fuller of the ſtreams of devotion. He was ſent governour by the queen to the united ſtates of Holland, where we read not of his wonders; for they ſay Mercury, not Mars, in him had the predominancy. To the policy he had from Northumberland his father, and the publican Dudley his grandfather, he added, it is ſaid, magick and aſtrology; and to his converſe with wiſe men, his familiarity with wizards. Indeed he would ſay, *A ſtates-man ſhould be ignorant* Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. *rant of nothing, but ſhould have all notices either within his own or his confidents command.*

His brother Ambroſe was the heir to the eſtate, and he to the wiſdome of that family. He was the moſt reſerved man of that age, that ſaw all, and was inviſible; carrying a depth not to be fathomed but by the *Searcher of Hearts*. Many fell in his time, who ſaw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own diſeaſe. He truſted not his familiars above a twelve-month together, but either tranſported them for forreign ſervices, or wafted them to another world. His ambition was of large extent, and his head-piece of a larger. Great was his influence on England, greater on Scotland, and greateſt of all on Ireland and the Netherlands; where this cloſe *genius* acted inviſibly, beyond the reach of friends, or the apprehenſion of enemies. Declining an immediate oppoſition in court factions, the wary ſir raiſed always young favourites to outſhine the old ones: ſo balancing all others that he might be paramount himſelf. The modern policy and practices were but ſhallow to *his*; who by promoting the queen's match, could hinder it; who could decoy Hunſdon to Berwick, Pembroke to Wales, Sidney to Ireland; while what with his great train, what with his growing popularity, he was called the *heart* of the court.

To make his baſis equal to his height, he enlarged and ſtrengthened his intereſt by alliance with the chief nobility, to whom he was related. By his patronage of learning, over which he was chancellour; by kindneſs to the clergy, whoſe head he ſeemed to be; by his command over all men, whom either his favours had won, or his frowns

frowns awed; every body being either within the Q. Eliz.
obligation of his courteſies, or the reach of his injuries. He adviſed ſome complyance with Philip of Spain for the match he propoſed; while by degrees he altered religion ſo, as it muſt be impoſſible; deſigning queen Elizabeth for his own bed, while ſhe made his way to the queen of Scots: whoſe refuſal of him he made as fatal to her, as his marriage would have been advantageous; (The queen of England promiſing to declare her next heir to the crown of England, in caſe ſhe failed of iſſue upon that match.) Leiceſter trepans Norfolk to treat a match with the Scots queen; and her to accept it, to both their ruine: both being engaged in ſuch fooliſh enterprizes by their enemies practices, as made Leiceſter able in the head of a new aſſociation in the queen's defence, to take off Norfolk and his ladies head. He was always beforehand with his deſignes, being a declared enemy to after-games.

His intereſt was popery, until my lord North put him upon Puritaniſm, but his religion neither: he promoted the French and Poliſh match at court, and diſparaged them in the countrey. When cardinal Chatillian advertiſed her majeſty how Leiceſter drove royal ſuiters from her court, he was ſent to another world. He that would not hold by his favour, muſt fall by his frown: archbiſhop Grindal not excepted. His hand beſtowed all favours, and his brows all frowns: the whole court was at his devotion, and half the council at his beck. Her majeſty ſuſpected, but durſt not remove him. His intelligence was good in Scotland, better in Ireland, beſt in Spain. The country was governed by his allies, and the court

Q. Eliz. by himſelf. The Tower was in his ſervants hands, London under his creatures government, and the law managed by his confidents. His treaſure was vaſt, his gains unaccountable, all paſſages to preferment being in his hand at home and abroad. He was never reconciled to her majeſty under 5000*l.* nor to any ſubject under 500*l.* and was ever and anon out with both. All monopolies are his, who commanded moſt mens purſes, and all mens parts. A man was oppreſſed if he complyed with him, and undone if he oppoſed him. In a word, his deſigne was thought a crown, his parts too large for a ſubject, his intereſt too great for a ſervant, his depth not fathomable in *thoſe* days, and his policy not reached in *theſe*.

Obſervations on the Life of Chriſtopher *Lord* Hatton.

Lloyd. SIR Chriſtopher Hatton was a gentleman who for his activity and perſon was taken into the queen's favour. He was firſt made vice-chamberlain, and ſhortly after advanced to the place of lord chancellour: a gentleman, that beſides the graces of his perſon, and dancing, had alſo the adjectments of a ſtrong and ſubtile capacity; one that could ſoon learn the diſcipline and garb both of times and court. The truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the ſeaſon of envy. As he came, ſo he continued *in* the court in a maſk. An honeſt man he was, but reſerved. Sir John Perrot talked, and ſir Chriſtopher Hatton thought.

His

His features ſet off his body, his gate his fea- Q. Eliz.
tures, his carriage his gate, his parts his car-
riage, his prudence his parts, and his cloſe pa-
tience his prudence. The queen loved him well for his activity, better for his parts, beſt of all for his abilities, which were as much above his experience, as that was above his learning, and that above his education. The little the wary man *did*, was ſo exactly juſt and diſcreet; and the little he *ſaid*, was ſo prudent and weighty, that he was choſen to keep the queen's conſcience as her chancellour, and to expreſs her ſenſe as her ſpeaker: the courtiers that envied the laſt capacity, were by his power forced to confeſs their errours; and the ſergeants that would not plead before him in the firſt, by his prudence to confeſs his abilities. The chancellourſhip was above his law, but not his parts; ſo pregnant and comprehenſive, that he could command other mens knowledge to as good purpoſe as his own. Such his humility, that he did nothing without two lawyers: ſuch his ability, that the queen did nothing without him. Two things he ſaid he was jealous of, his miſtreſſes the queen's *Prerogatives*, and his mother the churches diſcipline: the one, that majeſty might be at liberty to do as much good; and the other, that iniquity might not be free to as much evil as it pleaſed. His enemies advanced him, that they might weaken him at court by his abſence, and kill him at home by a ſedentarineſs. This even and clear man *obſerved* and *improved* their practices, cloſing with malice it ſelf to his own advancement, and tempering the moſt perverſe enmity to the greateſt kindneſs.

His

Q. Eliz. His firſt preferment at court was to be one of the fifty penſioners; whence his *modeſt ſweetneſs of Manners* advanced him to the privy chamber: where he had not been long, but his face and tongue (which moſt eloquent, which moſt powerful, was in thoſe days a queſtion) made him captain of the guard; his preſence and ſervice vice-chamberlain; and his great improvement under my lord Burleigh, placed him in that grave aſſembly, (the wiſeſt convention in Europe at that time) the privy-council; where he had not ſate long, when his enemies as well as his friends made him chancellour and knight of the garter: the one to raiſe him, and the other by that riſe to ruine him. *The Eagle-eyed men of thoſe times carried up on high the Cockleſhell they had a mind to crack.* A man of a pious nature, very charitable to the poor, very tender of diſſenting judgements, (ſaying, *That neither ſearing nor cutting was to be uſed in the cauſe of religion*) very bountiful to ſcholars, (who choſe him chancellour at Oxford) very exact in his place; whence he went off, though not without the applauſe of a great lawyer to ſplit cauſes, yet with the conſcience and comfort of a juſt man, to do equity.

Take his character from his own words, thoſe words that prevailed with the queen of Scots to appear before the commiſſioners at Fotheringay, when neither queen Elizabeth's commiſſion, nor the lord chancellour's reaſon, nor the power of the kingdome could perſwade that good lady to it. The words are theſe:

"*You are accuſed, but not condemned. You ſay* "*you are a Queen; be it ſo: if you are innocent,* *you*

" *you wrong your Reputation in avoiding tryal.* Q. Eliz.
" *You proteſt your ſelf innocent, the Queen feareth*
" *the contrary not without grief and ſhame. To*
" *examine yonr innocence are theſe honourable,*
" *prudent, and upright Commiſſioners ſent: glad*
" *will they be with all their hearts if they may*
" *return and report you guiltleſs. Believe me, the*
" *Queen her ſelf will be much affected with joy,*
" *who affirmed to me at my coming from her, that*
" *never any thing befel her more grievous, than*
" *that you were charged with ſuch a crime: where-*
" *fore lay aſide the bootleſs priviledge of Royal*
" *Dignity, which here can be of no uſe to you,*
" *appear in Judgement, and ſhew your Innocence,*
" *leſt by avoiding tryal, you draw upon your ſelf*
" *ſuſpition, and lay upon your Reputation an eter-*
" *nal blot and aſperſion.*"

Four things I obſerve he did that deſerve a chronicle:

1. That he delayed the ſigning of Leiceſter's patent for the lieutenancy of England and Ireland, the preface to his kingdome, until that earl was ſick.

2. That he reduced the chancery, and all other courts, to rules.

3. That he ſtood by the church againſt the enemies of both ſides. Archbiſhop Whitgift when checked by others for his due ſeverity, writes to him thus: *I think my ſelf bound to you for your friendly Meſſage as long as I live: It hath not a little comforted me, having received unkinde ſpeeches not long ſince*, &c. *And therefore* (after an expoſtulation about ſome ſtates-mens proceedings againſt the law and ſtate of the realm, and

Q. Eliz. a declaration of his own reſolution) ſaith he, *your Honour in offering that great courteſie, offered unto me as great a pleaſure as I can deſire. Her Majeſty muſt be my Refuge, and I beſeech you that I may uſe you as a means, when occaſion ſhall ſerve; whereof I aſſure my ſelf, and therein reſt,*

John Cant.

4. That he promoted the proclamations for plain apparel, for free trade, for pure religion, and the laws againſt the papiſts.

None nobler, none leſs aſpiring: none more buſie, yet none more punctual in his hours and orders. Corpulent he was, but temperate; a batchelor, (and the onely one of the queen's favourites) yet chaſte: quick were his diſpatches, but weighty, *many* his orders, and *conſiſtent:* numerous were the addreſſes to him, and eaſie the acceſs. Seldome were his orders reverſed in chancery, and ſeldomer his advice oppoſed in council. So juſt he was, that his ſentence was law with the ſubject; ſo wiſe, that his opinion was oracle with his ſoveraign; ſo exact was queen Elizabeth, that ſhe called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; ſo loving, that ſhe carried him a cordial-broth with her own hand, though it could not revive him.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Hunſdon.

THE lord Hunſdon was of the queen's nea- Lloyd.
reſt kindred; and on the deceaſe of Suſſex, both he and his ſon took the place of lord chamberlain. He was a faſt man to his prince, and firm to his friends and ſervants, downright, honeſt, and ſtout-hearted, having the charge of the queen's perſon both in the court, and in the camp at Tilbury. The integrity of his temper allayed the greatneſs of his birth; which had rendered him dangerous, if the other had not vouched him faithful. He ſpoke big, but honeſtly; and was thought rather reſolute than ambitious. His words were as his thoughts, and his actions as his words. He had valour enough to be an eminent ſouldier in ruffling times, and a renownedly honeſt man in queen Elizabeth's reign. His latine, ſaith ſir Robert Naunton, and his diſſimulation, were both alike. His cuſtome of ſwearing, and obſcenity in ſpeaking, made him ſeem a worſe chriſtian than he was, and a better knight of the carpet than he ſhould be. The politicians followed Cecil, the courtiers Leiceſter, and the ſouldiers Hunſdon, whoſe hands were better than his head, and his heart than both. He led ſo brave a train of young gallants, as after another threatned a court, but after him ſecured it; whoſe greatneſs was not his

Q. Eliz. his miſtreſſes jealouſie, but her ſafeguard. One of his blunt jeſts went further than others affected harangues; the one being nature, the other forced. His faithfulneſs made him governour of Berwick: a place of great ſervice: and general of the Engliſh army; a place of great truſt. He had ſomething of Leiceſter's choler, but none of his malice. A right noble ſpirit, not ſo ſtupid as not to reſent, not ſo unworthy as to retain a ſenſe of injuries. To have the courage to obſerve an affront, is to be even with an adverſary: to have the patience to forgive it, is to be above him. There goeth a ſtory of him, that when his retinue, which in thoſe times was large, would have drawn on a gentleman that had returned him a box on the ear, he forbad them in theſe ſouldier-like words: *You Rogues, cannot my Neighbour and my ſelf exchange a box on the ear, but you muſt interpoſe?*

He might have been what he would, for relieving queen Elizabeth in her diſtreſs: he would be but what he *was:* other's intereſts were offered him to ſtand upon; he was contented with his own. He ſuppreſſed the court factions, and the northern commotions; the one by his intereſt, the other by his valour: for the one, he had always the queen's heart; for the other, he had once a moſt gracious letter.

His court-favour was as laſting as his integrity. One hath left this remarque concerning him: that he ſhould have been twice earl of Wiltſhire in right of his mother Bollen. And the queen, when he was on his death-bed, ordered his patent and robes to his bed-ſide: where he who could

* See Fuller in his Worthies.

could diſſemble neither well nor ill, told the queen, *That if he was not worthy of thoſe Honours when* living, *he was unworthy of them when* dying. Q. Eliz.

In a word, ſir William Cecil was a wiſe man; Bacon was reaching, Leiceſter cunning; Walſingham was a patriot, and my lord Hunſdon was honeſt.

Obſervations on the Life of Nicholas Heath, *Archbiſhop of* York, *and Lord Chancellour of* England.

AT once a moſt wiſe and a moſt learned man, of great policy, and of as great integrity; meek and reſolute: more devout to follow his own conſcience, than cruel to perſecute others. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal and diſ-engaged from violent extreams; that in the firſt of queen Elizabeth, in the diſputation between the papiſts and proteſtants, he was choſen by the privy-council one of the moderators, when ſir Nicholas Bacon was the other. Lloyd.

The civility he ſhewed in proſperity, he found in adverſity: for in queen Elizabeth's time he was rather eaſed, than depoſed, [like another *Abiathar*, ſent home by *Solomon* to his own fields in *Anathoth*] living chearfully at Cobham in Surry, where he devoted his old age to religion and ſtudy, being much comforted with the queen's viſits and kindneſs, and more with his own

Q. Eliz. own good conſcience; that (as he would often ſay) he had been ſo intent upon the *ſervice*, as never to enjoy the *greatneſs* of any place he was advanced to.

Sir Henry Wotton being bound for Rome, aſked his hoſt at Siena, a man well verſed in men and buſineſs, what rules he would give him for his port, conduct and cariage? *There is one ſhort remembrance* (ſaid he) *will carry you ſafe through the world; nothing but this*, (ſaid he) Gli Penſiere ſtretti, & el viſo Sciolto: (i. e.) *Your thoughts cloſe, and your Countenance looſe.*

The character of this prelate, a man of a calm and a reſerved minde, but of a gravely obliging carriage: wiſe and wary; and that a ſolid wiſdome rather than a formal; well ſeaſoned with practice, and well broken to affairs: of a fine compoſition, between frugality and magnificence: a great cheriſher of manual arts, eſpecially ſuch as tended to ſplendour or ornament; entertaining the moſt exquiſite artiſts with a ſetled penſion. Equally divided he was between the prieſt and the ſtates-man; great with his double power, eccleſiaſtical and civil: by nature more reſerved than popular, with vertues fitter to beget eſtimation than love. In his chancellourſhip he was ſerved with able followers, rather by choice than number, and with more neatneſs and ſervice than noiſe. As midland countries in buſie times are moſt ſecure, as being fartheſt, and moſt participating of the common intereſt: ſo your moderate and middle men in troubleſome and perplexed times, are moſt quiet, as leaſt concerned in the reſpective controverſies, and moſt intent upon the common good.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Pickering.

HIS extraction was not noble, his eſtate but mean; yet was his perſon ſo comely, his carriage ſo elegant, his life ſo gravely reſerved and ſtudious, and his embaſſies in France and Germany ſo well managed, that in king Edward's days he was by the council pitched upon as the oracle, whereby our agents were to be guided abroad; and in queen Elizabeth's, deſigned by common vote for the prince by whom we were to be governed at home. He received extraordinary favours, no doubt, ſo deſerving he was: he was wiſhed to more, he was ſo popular: and when his ſervice was admitted to her majeſties boſome, all fancies but his own placed his perſon in her be[illegible] And I find him a prince in this, that retiring from thoſe buſie buſlings in the ſtate, wherein he might be matched or outdone, he devoted his large ſoul to thoſe more ſublime and noble reſearches in his ſtudy, wherein he ſate monarch of hearts and letters. Anxious poſterity no doubt enquires what great endowments could raiſe ſo private a man to ſuch publick honour and expectation; and it muſt imagine him one redeemed by the politure of good education, from his younger vanities and ſimplicities, his ruſtick ignorance, his clowniſh confidence, his brutiſh dulneſs, his country ſolitude, his Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. his earthly ploddings, his beggerly indigencies, or covetous neceſſities; racked and refined from the lees of ſenſual and inordinate luſt, from ſwelling and ſurly pride, from baſe and mean deſignes, from immoderate affections, violent paſſions, unreaſonable impulſes, and depraved aſpects; of a ſtrong and handſome body, a large and publick ſoul, of a gentle and patient acceſs, of benign and juſt reſentments, a grand awful preſence. This is he that is born to teach the world, *That Vertue and Warineſs make Kings as well as Gods.*

Obſervations on the Life of Cuthbert Tunſtal, *Biſhop of* Durham.

Lloyd. A Man paſſing well ſeen in all kind of poliſhed literature; who having run through many degrees of honour at home, and worthily performed ſeveral embaſſies abroad, was very hot againſt the pope's primacy in his young days, very moderate for it in his middle years, and very zealous in his old age: like the waters in Curtius, that are hot at midnight, warm in the morning, and cold at noon. In the reign of queen Mary he ſpake more harſhly againſt the proteſtants, (calling biſhop Hooper *Beaſt* for being married) than he acted, being politickly preſumed to bark the more, that he might bite the leſs; and obſerved to threaten much in London,

don, and do little in his own dioceſs: for I meet (ſaith my author) with a marginal note in Mr. Foxe, which indeed juſtly deſerved even in the faireſt letters to be inſerted in the body of his book: *Note, that Biſhop Tonſtal in queen Mary's days was no great bloody Perſecutor: for Mr. Ruſſel a Preacher was before him, and Dr. Himmer his Chancellour, would have had him examined more particularly: the Biſhop ſtaid him, ſaying,* Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head.

Q. Eliz.

When the more violent biſhops were confined to cloſe priſons, *primo Elizabethæ* he lived in *Free cuſtody* at my lord of Canterbury's, in ſweet chambers, warm beds, by warm fires, with plentiful and wholeſome diet at the archbiſhop's own table: differing nothing from his former grandeur, ſave that that was at his own charges, and this at another's; and that he had not his former ſuit of ſuperfluous ſervants, that long train that doth not *worm* but *weary* the wearer thereof. In a word, his cuſtody did not ſo much ſowre his freedome, as his freedome ſweetned his cuſtody; where his ſoul was moſt free, uſing not once thoſe oracles of Seneca, *That the good things of Proſperity are to be wiſhed, and the good things of Adverſity to be admired.* It's true greatneſs to have at once the frailty of a man, and the ſecurity of a god. Proſperity (ſaith my lord Bacon) is the bleſſing of the old teſtament, and adverſity of the new. the firſt wants not its fears and diſtates, therein therefore our prelate was temperate; nor the ſecond its comforts and hopes, and therein he was reſolved: in the

Q. Eliz. (——* *virtus vel in hoſte)* he was not vicious, under the other he was vertuous.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Francis Talbot, *Earl of* Shrewſbury.

Lloyd. NObility without vertue is a diſgrace, vertue without nobility low: but nobility adorned with vertue, and vertue embelliſhed by nobility, raiſeth a man high as nature reacheth: and he in whom theſe two concur, hath all the glory a man can attain unto, *viz.* both an *Inclination* and a *Power* to do well.

This is the man whoſe greatneſs was but the ſervant to his goodneſs, and whoſe honour the inſtrument of his vertue; who was reverenced like the heavens he bore, for his beneficence, as well as for his glory. He ſaw four troubleſome reigns, but not troubled himſelf, as one that was ſo eſpouſed to the common and grand concerns of mankinde, as to be unintereſted in the particular and petty deſigne of any party of *it*.

He had friends (and none more ſure to them, or more devoted to that ſacred thing called friendſhip) to eaſe his heart to, to ſuppreſs his judgement by, to reform, or at leaſt to obſerve his defect in, to compoſe his mind with; but none to countenance in a faction, or ſide with in a quarrel: *Uſefulneſs* is a bond that tieth great and good men, and not *reſpects*.

How

* Virtue even in an enemy.

How low learning ran in our land among our native nobility ſome two hundred years ſince, in the reign of king Henry the ſixth, too plainly appeareth by the motto in the ſword of the martial earl of Shrewſbury, (where (ſaith my author) at the ſame time a man may ſmile at the ſimplicity, and ſigh at the barbarouſneſs thereof) *Sum Talboti pro occidere inimicos meos:* the beſt latine that lord, and perchance his chaplain too in that age could afford. The caſe was much altered here, where this lord's grandchilde was at once the chiefeſt councellour, and the moſt eminent ſcholar of his age. It's a reverend thing to ſee any ancient piece ſtanding againſt time, much more to ſee an ancient family ſtanding againſt fortune. Certainly princes that have able men of their nobility, ſhall finde eaſe in employing them, and a better ſlide into their buſineſs: for people naturally bend to them, as born in ſome ſort to command. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Challoner.

THIS gentleman's birth in London made him Lloyd.
quick, his education in Cambridge knowing, and his travel abroad expert. In Henry the eighth's time he preſerved Charles the fifth in the expedition of Algier: where being ſhip-wracked, after he had ſwum till his ſtrength and arms

Q. Eliz. failed him, at length he catching hold of a cable with his teeth, he eſcaped, not without the loſs of ſome of his teeth. (We are conſecrated by dangers to ſervices; and we know not what we can *do*, until we have ſeen all we can *fear.*) In Edward the ſixth's reign, he behaved himſelf ſo manly at Muſcleborough, that the protector honoured him with a knighthood, and his lady with a jewel; the *delicate* and valiant man at once pleaſing *Mars* and his *Venus* too. The firſt week of queen Elizabeth's reign, he is deſigned an embaſſadour of honour to the emperour; ſuch his port and carriage! and the ſecond year, her Leiger for buſineſs in Spain; ſuch his truſt and abilities! the firſt he performed not with more gallantry, than he did the ſecond with policy; bearing up king Philip's expectation of the match with England for three years effectually, until he had done the queen's buſineſs abroad, and ſhe had done her own at home. In Spain he equally divided his time between the ſcholar and the ſtates-man, his recreation and his buſineſs; for he refreſhed his more careful time with a pure and learned verſe, *de rep. Anglorum inſtauranda*, in five books, whilſt as he writes in the preface to that book, he lived *Hyeme in furno, æſtate in Horreo*: i. e. wintered in a ſtove, and ſummered in a barn. He underſtood the concerns of this eſtate well, and thoſe of his own better; it being an uſual ſaying, engraven on all his plates and actions, *Frugality is the left hand of Fortune, and Diligence the right.* Anthony Brown viſcount Mountacute urged with much zeal and many arguments the *Danger* and *Diſhonour* of revolting off from the catholick and mother-church:

ſir

ſir Thomas Challoner with more eloquence enlarged on the juſt cauſe for which we deceded from the errours of Rome the true authority by which we deceded from the uſurpation of Rome, and the moderation in what we deceded from the ſuperſtition of Rome. Q. Eliz.

When the Spaniſh embaſſadour urged that ſome catholicks might with the queen's leave remain in Spain; he anſwered him in a large declaration, *That though the inſtance ſeemed a matter of no great moment, yet ſeeing the Parties concerned would not receive ſo much advantage by the licenſe as the Commonwealth would damage by the Preſident, it was neither fit for the King of Spain to urge, or for the queen of England to grant.* He was very impatient of injuries, preſſing his return home when his coffers were ſearched, but admoniſhed by his miſtreſs, *That an Embaſſadour muſt take all things in good part that hath not a direct tendency to the Prince's diſhonour, or his Countries danger.* His death was as honourable as his life, ſir William Cecil being chief mourner at his funeral, St. Paul's containing his grave, and he leaving a hopeful * ſon that ſhould bring up future princes, as he had ſerved the preſent; being as worthy a *Tutor* to the hopeful prince Henry, as his father had been a faithful ſervant to the renowned queen Elizabeth. Oct. 1 65

* Sir Thomas

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Edward Waterhouſe.

Lloyd. SIR Edward Waterhouſe was born at Helmſtedbury Hartfordſhire: of an ancient and worſhipful family, deriving their deſcent lineally from ſir Gilbert Waterhouſe of Kyrton in Low-Lindſey in the county of Lincoln, in the time of king Henry the third. As for our ſir Edward, his parents were,

John Waterhouſe eſquire, a man of much fidelity and ſageneſs, auditor many years to king Henry the eighth; of whom he obtained (after a great entertainment for him in his houſe) the grant of a weekly market for the town of Helmſted.

Margaret Turner of the ancient houſe of Blunts-Hall in Suffolk, and Cannons in Hertfordſhire.

* The king at his departure honoured the children of the ſaid John Waterhouſe, being brought before him, with his praiſe and encouragement, gave a Benjamin's portion of dignation to this Edward; foretelling by his royal augury, that he would be the crown of them all, and

* By the learned, induſtrious, and ingenious Edward Waterhouſe, Eſquire, of Sion-Colledge.

and a man of great honour and wiſdome, fit for Q. Eliz.
the ſervice of princes. It pleaſed God after-
wards to ſecond the word of the king, ſo that
the ſprouts of his hopeful youth onely pointed
at the growth and greatneſs of his honourable
age. For, being but twelve years old, he went
to Oxford; where for ſome years he gliſtered in
the oratorick and poetick ſphere, until he ad-
dicted himſelf to converſation, and obſervance
of ſtate-affairs, wherein his great proficiency
commended him to the favour of three principal
patrons. One was Walter Devereux earl of
Eſſex, who made him his boſome-friend; and
the ſaid earl lying on his death-bed took his leave
of him with many kiſſes: *Oh my* Ned, *Oh my*
Ned, (ſaid he) *Farewel: thou art the faithfuleſt*
and friendlieſt Gentleman that ever I knew. In
teſtimony of his true affection to the dead father
in his living ſon, this gentleman is thought to
have penned that moſt judicious and elegant epi-
ſtle, (recorded in Holinſhed's hiſtory, p. 1266.)
and preſented it to the young earl, conjuring
him by the cogent arguments of example and
rule to patrizare.

His other patron was ſir Henry Sidney, (ſo
often lord deputy of Ireland) whereby he became
incorporated into the familiarity of his ſon ſir
Philip Sidney; between whom and ſir Edward
there was ſo great friendlineſs, that they were
never better pleaſed than when in one anothers
companies, or when they correſponded each with
other. And we finde after the death of that
worthy knight, that he was a cloſe-concerned
mourner at his obſequies, as appeareth at large

in

Q. Eliz. in the printed repreſentation of his funeral ſolemnity.

His third patron was ſir John Perrot, deputy alſo of Ireland; who ſo valued his council, that in ſtate affairs he would do nothing without him. So great his employment betwixt ſtate and ſtate, that he croſſed the ſeas thirty ſeven times, until deſervedly at laſt he came into a port of honour, wherein he ſundry years anchored and found ſafe harbour. For he receiving the honour of knighthood, was ſworn of her majeſties privy-council for Ireland, and chancellour of the exchequer therein. Now his grateful-ſoul courſing about how to anſwer the queen's favour, laid it ſelf wholly out in her ſervice: wherein two of his actions were moſt remarkable. Firſt, he was highly inſtrumental in modelling the kingdome of Ireland into ſhires, as now they are; ſhewing himſelf ſo great a lover of the polity under which he was born, that he advanced the compliance therewith (as commendable and neceſſary) in the dominions annexed thereunto. His ſecond ſervice was, when many in that kingdome ſhrowded themſelves from the laws, under the target of power, making force their tutelary ſaint, he ſet himſelf vigorouſly to oppreſs them. And when many of the privy-council, terrified with the greatneſs of the earl of Deſmond, durſt not ſubſcribe the inſtrument wherein he was proclaimed traytor, ſir Edward amongſt ſome others boldly ſigned the ſame, (diſavowing his, and all treaſons againſt his friends and country) and the council did the like, commanding the publication thereof. As to his private ſphere, God bleſſed him, being but a third brother, above

his

his other brethren. Now, though he had three wives, the firſt a Villiers, the ſecond a Spilman, the third the widow of Herlakenden of Woodchurch in Kent, eſquire; and though he had ſo ſtrong a brain and body, yet he lived and died childleſs, intercommoning therein with many worthies, who are, according to *Ælius Spartianus*, either improlifick, or have children * *in Genitorum Vituperium & famarum Læſuram.* God thus denying him the pleaſure of poſterity, he craved leave of the queen to retire himſelf, and fixed the reſidue of his life at Woodchurch in Kent, living there in great honour and repute, as one who had no deſigne to be popular, and not prudent; rich, and not honeſt; great, and not good. He died in the 56 year of his age, the 13 of October, 1591. and is buried at Wood-church under a table-marble monument, erected to his memory by his ſorrowful lady ſurviving him. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of the Duke of Norfolk.

HIS predeceſſors made more noyſe it may be, but he had the greater fame: their greatneſs was feared, his goodneſs was loved. He was heir to his uncles ingenuity, and his father's Lloyd.

* To the Reproach of their Anceſtors, and to the injury of their own Reputation.

Q. Eliz. ther's valour; and from both derived as well the *Laurel* as the *Coronet*.

His God and his ſoveraign were not more taken with the ancient ſimplicity that lodged in his plain breaſt, than the people were endeared by that noble humility that dwelt in his plainer cloaths and carriage. (The moſt honourable perſonages, like the moſt honourable coats of arms, are leaſt gaudy.) In the election of the firſt parliament of queen Elizabeth, and as a conſequent to that in the ſettlement of the kingdome, ſir William Cecil's wiſdome did much, the earl of Arundel's induſtry more, but the duke of Norfolk's popularity did moſt. Never peer more dread, never more dear: as he could engage the people to comply with their ſoveraign at home, ſo he could lead them to ſerve her abroad. That martial but unfortunate gentleman William lord Grey, draweth firſt towards Scotland, (for the firſt cloud that would have darkened our glorious ſtar, came from the north, *Whence all evil*, is equally our proverb and our experience) as warden of the middle and eaſt marches: but he is ſeconded by the duke, as lieutenant-general of the north-parts; where his preſence commands a treaty, and his authority a league, offenſive and defenſive, to balance the French intereſt, to reduce the north parts of Ireland, and to keep the peace of both kingdomes. Now as the watchful duke diſcovered by ſome private paſſages and letters that Scotland was to be invaded by the French, ſo he writ to his ſoveraign, that notwithſtanding the Spaniſh and French embaſſadors overtures, ſhe would proceed reſolutely in her preparations for Scotland; as ſhe did under his

his conduct, until the young queen was glad to submit; and the king of France, by Cecil and Throgmorton's means now be buſied at home, to come to terms. Q. Eliz.

He brought the kingdome to muſters, the people to ply huſbandry, the nobility to keep armories, and the juſticers to ſalaries. The enſignes of St. Michael were beſtowed upon him as the nobleſt, and on Leiceſter as the deareſt perſon at court: now Arundel, who had ſpent his own eſtate in hope of the queen's, under pretence of recovering his health, travelled abroad to mitigate his grief. When the earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter were openly for the queen's marriage, for the future ſecurity of our preſent happineſs; the duke, though privately of their minde, yet would diſcourſe,

1. That ſucceſſors take off the peoples eyes from the preſent ſoveraign.

2. That it was the ſafeſt way to keep all competitors in ſuſpence.

3. That ſucceſſors, though not deſigned, may ſucceed.

4. Whereas when known, they have been undone by the arts of their competitors.

5. And that moſt men (whatever the buſie agitators of the ſucceſſion pretended) have no more feeling in publick matters than concerneth their own private intereſt. But he had a private kindneſs for the queen of Scots, which he diſcovered in all the treaties wherein ſhe was concerned. 1. In love-letters to her, notwithſtanding that queen Elizabeth bid him take care what pillow *he reſted his head on*. 2. In his mediations at court ſo importune for her, that the queen would ſay,

Q. Eliz. ſay, *The Queen of Scots ſhall never want an Advocate while Norfolk lives.* And, 3. By ſome private tranſaction with the pope and Spaniard: to which Leiceſter's craft trepanned him againſt his friend Cecil's advice, which in a dangerous juncture coſt him his life. For the people wiſhing (for the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion in a proteſtant and an Engliſh hand) that the good duke were married to the mother, and his onely daughter to her young ſon; ſubtile Leiceſter and Throgmorton laid a train for the plain man by conferences with Murray, Cecil, &c. until a plot was diſcovered; and the duke, notwithſtanding Cecil's advice to marry a private lady, retiring to Norfolk to finiſh the match with the queen, was upon letters taken with Roſſe ſurprized, and committed to the Tower, he ſaying, *I am betrayed and undone by mine own, whilſt I knew not how to miſtruſt, which is the ſtrength of wiſdom.* After a ſolemn tryal, he is beheaded for indiſcretions rather than treaſons, loſing his head becauſe he wanted one. Never any fell more beloved, or more pitied: ſuch his ſingular courteſie, ſuch his magnificent bounty, not unbecoming ſo great a peer. High was his nobility, large his intereſt, ſingularly good his nature, comely his perſon, manly his countenance, who (ſaith Cambden) might have been a great ſtrength and ornament to his country, had not the cunning practices of his malicious adverſaries, and ſlippery hopes, under colour of publick good, diverted it from his firſt courſe of life. His death was a blot to ſome mens juſtice, to all mens diſcretion that were concerned in it, as generally odious, though quietly endured: which proves

proves (ſaith one) *That the common people are like* Q. Eliz.
rivers, which ſeldome grow ſo impetuous as to tranſ-
cend the bounds of obedience, but upon the overflow-
ing of a general oppreſſion.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

SIR Nicholas Throgmorton, fourth ſon of ſir George Throgmorton of Coughton in Warwickſhire, was bred beyond the ſeas, where he attained to great experience. Under queen Mary he was in Guild-hall arraigned for treaſon, (in compliance with Wiat) and by his own wary pleading, and the juries upright verdict, hardly eſcaped. Queen Elizabeth employed him her leiger a long time, firſt in France, then in Scotland, finding him a moſt able miniſter of ſtate: yet got he no great wealth; and no wonder, being ever of the oppoſite party to Burleigh lord treaſurer: chamberlain of the exchequer, and chief butler of England, were his higheſt preferments. I ſay, chief butler; which office, like an empty-covered cup, pretended to ſome ſtate, but afforded no conſiderable profit. He died at ſupper with eating of ſallads: not without ſuſpicion of poyſon; the rather, becauſe it happened in the houſe of one no mean artiſt in that faculty, R. earl of Leiceſter. His death, as it was ſudden, was ſeaſonable for him and his, whoſe active (others will call it turbulent) ſpirit had brought him Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. him unto ſuch trouble as might have coſt him, at leaſt, the loſs of his perſonal eſtate. He died in the 57 year of his age, Febr. 12, 1570. and lieth buried in the ſouth ſide of the Chancel of St. Martin Cree-church London.

A *ſtout* and a wiſe man, that ſaw through pretences, and could look beyond dangers. His ſkill in heraldry appears in his *grim* arguments againſt the king of France, in right of his queen of Scots uſurping the arms of England; and his experience in hiſtory, in his peremptory declarations of the queen of England's * title in the right of her twelve predeceſſors to thoſe of France. But his policy much more, by putting Montmorency, the great enemy of the Guizes, upon perſwading his maſter out of the humour of wearing thoſe arms, with this argument, *That it was below the arms of France to be quartered with thoſe of England; thoſe being comprehenſive of theſe and all other of his majeſties dominions.* An argument more ſuitable to that prince his ambition, than convincing to his reaſon. Wiſe men ſpeak rather what is moſt *fit*, than what is moſt *rational*; not what *demonſtrates*, but what *perſwades* his hearers, and *takes*. But being endangered in his perſon, affronted in his retinue, and ſerved with nothing at his table but what had the arms of England quartered with thoſe of France, he dealt underhand with the earl of Northumberland, to underſtand the ſcope the reformed propounded to themſelves, their means to compaſs what they aimed at, and (if at any time they were aſſiſted) upon what terms a league might be concluded between

* Which he made out from Dr. Wotton's diſcourſe on that ſubject at Cambray.

between the two kingdomes. The advices col- Q. Eliz.
lected from all his obſervations he ſent to the queen, were theſe:

1. That ſhe ſhould not reſt in *dull counſels* of what is *lawful*, but proceed to *quick reſolutions* of what is *ſafe*.

2. That to prevent, is the policy of all nations, and to be powerful, of ours. *England is never peaceable but in arms.*

3. That how cloſe ſoever they managed their affairs, it was a maxime, * *That France can neither be poor, nor abſtain from war three years together.*

Francis earl of Bedford bore the ſtate of the French embaſſy, and ſir Nicholas the burden, who gave dayly directions to ſir Thomas Challoner in Spain, ſir Henry Killigrew in Germany, and ſir Thomas Randolph and ſir Peter Mewtas in Scotland: to the two firſt, to enjealous the princes of thoſe countries; and to the laſt, to unite the nobility of Scotland; he in the mean time ſuffering himſelf to be taken priſoner by the Proteſtants at the battle of Dreux, that he might with leſs ſuſpicion impart ſecret counſels to them, and receive as ſecret advices from them; until diſcovering their lightneſs and unconſtancy, they ſecured him as a perſon too cunning for the whole faction, and too ſkilful in raiſing hurley-burleys and commotions. When the young queen of Scots would needs marry the young lord Darnley, he told her that was long to be deliberated on which was to be done but *once*. And when that would

* To which queen Elizabeth addeth a ſaying of Valentinians, "Have the French for thy friend, not for thy "neighbour.

Q. Eliz. would not do, he adviſed, 1. That an army ſhould appear upon the borders: 2. That the eccleſiaſtical laws ſhould be in force againſt papiſts: 3. That Hereford ſhould be ſecured: and 4. That the lord Dudley ſhould be advanced. But the queen being married to the lord Darnley, an eaſie and good-natured man, whom queen Elizabeth wiſhed to her bed next Leiceſter, and affronted by her ſubjects, Throgmorton diſputes the queen's authority and non-accountableneſs to any againſt Buchanan's damned * dialogue of the people's power *over kings*: until ſmelling their deſigne of revolt to the French, and cruelty upon the queen, he perſwaded her to reſign her government, ſaying, *That her reſignation extorted in priſon, which was a juſt fear, was utterly void.* The next news we hear of this buſie man, was in his two adviſoes to the queen of Scots friends: 1. To clap up † Cecil, whom they might then (he ſaid) deal with: 2. To proclaim the queen of Scots ſucceſſion; and in the train he laid to ſerve Leiceſter in the duke of Norfolks ruine. But he was too familiar with that politician's privacy, to live long: anno 1570, he died. A man, ſaith mr. Cambden, *of great experience, paſſing ſharp wit, and ſingular diligence*; an over-curious fancy, and a too nimble activity: like your too fine ſilks or linen, and more for ſhew than ſervice; never bleſſing their owners but when allayed with ſomething of the *heavy* and the *wary*; nor *riſing*, but when *ſtayed*.

Obſer-

* De jure Reg. apud Scotos.

† About moneys tranſported beyond ſeas.

Obſervations on the Life of Edward *Earl of* Derby.

HIS greatneſs ſupported his goodneſs, and his goodneſs endeared his greatneſs; his heighth being looked upon with a double aſpect: 1. By himſelf, as an advantage of beneficence: 2. By others, as a ground of reverence. His great birth put him above private reſpects, but his great ſoul never above publick ſervice. Indeed he repaired by ways thrifty, yet noble, what his anceſtors had impaired by neglect. Good Huſbandry may as well ſtand with great honour, as breadth may conſiſt with heighth. His travel when young, at once gained experience, and ſaved expences; and his marriage was as much to his profit as his honour. And now he ſheweth himſelf in his full grandeur, when the intireneſs of his minde, complyed with the largeneſs of his ſoul. Lloyd.

1. In a ſpreading charity. Other lords made many poor by oppreſſion; he and my lord of Bedford, as queen Elizabeth would jeſt, made all the beggers by their liberality.

2. In a famous hoſpitality: wherein, 1. His houſe was orderly; a college of diſcipline, rather than a palace for entertainment; his ſervants being ſo many young gentlemen trained up to govern themſelves by obſerving him; who knew their maſter, and underſtood themſelves. 2. His

Q. Eliz. proviſion native; *(all the neceſſaries of England are bred in it)* rather plentiful than various, ſolid than dainty, that coſt him leſs, and contented his gueſts more. His table conſtant and even, where all were welcome, and none invited. 3. His hall was full moſt commonly, his gates always; the one with the honeſt gentry and yeomen, who were his retainers in love and obſervance, bringing good ſtomachs to his table, and reſolved hearts for his ſervice; the holding up of his hand in the Northern buſineſs, being as effectual as the diſplaying of a banner: The other with the, 1. Aged. 2. Maimed. 3. Induſtrious poor, whoſe craving was prevented with doles, and expectation with bounty; the firſt being provided with meat, the ſecond with money, and the third with employment. In a word, Mr. Cambden obſerves, That hoſpitality lieth buried ſince 1572, in this earl's grave: whence may that divine power raiſe it, that ſhall raiſe him; but before the laſt reſurrection, when there will be plenty to beſtow in one part of the world, and no poor to be relieved; poverty in the other and no bounty to relieve.

Neither was he munificent upon other mens charge: for once a moneth he looked into his incomes, and once a week to his diſburſements, that none ſhould wrong him, or be wronged by him. The earl of Derby, he would ſay, *ſhall keep his own houſe*: wherefore it's an obſervation of him and the ſecond duke of Norfolk, That when they were buried, not a tradeſman could demand the payment of a groat that they owed him, nor a neighbour the reſtitution of a penny they had wronged him. They ſay, The graſs groweth not

not where the grand Seigniors *horſe treads*; nor doth the people thrive where the noblemen inhabit: but here every tenant was a gentleman, and every gentleman my lord's companion: ſuch his civility towards the one, and great pennyworths to the other. Noblemen in thoſe days eſteemed the love of their neighbours more than their fear, and the ſervice and fealty of their tenants more than their money. Now the landlord hath the ſweat of the tenants brow in his coffers, then he had the beſt blood in his veins at his command. Q. Eliz.

That grand word, *On mine honour*, was ſecurity enough for a kingdome, and the onely aſſeveration he uſed. It was his priviledge, that he *need* not ſwear for a teſtimony; and his renown, that he would not for his honour. Great was this families eſteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their ſovereigns; as which ever beſtowed itſelf in obliging their Liege-people, improving their intereſt, and ſupporting their throne: for though they were a long time great kings of *Man* and hearts, yet were they as long faithfull ſubjects to England.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-Williams.

A Child of fortune from his cradle, made up of confidence and reputation: never unwarily ſhewing his vertue or worth to the world with any diſadvantage. Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. When Britain had as little ſleepineſs and ſloth as night, when it was all day, and all activity; he, as all young ſparks of that age, trailed a pike in the Netherlands, (the ſeminary of the Engliſh ſoldiery, and the ſchool of Europe's diſcipline) as a ſouldier, and travelled as a gentleman; until that place graced him civilly with a command, which he had honoured eminently with his ſervice. His friends checked him for undertaking an employment ſo boiſterous; and he replyed upon them, That it *was* as neceſſary as it *ſeemed* irregular: for if ſome were not ſouldiers, all muſt be ſo. He ſaid, He never durſt venture on war with men, till he had made his peace with God: a good conſcience breeds great reſolutions, and the innocent ſoul is impregnable: none more fearful of doing evil, none more reſolved to ſuffer: there being no hardſhip that he would avoid, no undecency that he would allow. Strict he was to his commiſſion, and yet obſervant of his advantage: never tempting a danger, never flying it: careful of his firſt *life* and himſelf, but more of his *other* and his name. When the methods of obedience advanced him to the honour of commanding, ſix things he was chronicled for.

1. Never making the aged, the young, or the weak, the objects of his rage, which could not be ſo of his fear.

2. That he never baſely killed in *cold* blood, them that had nobly eſcaped his ſword in *hot*.

3. That he never led the ſouldiers without pay, or quartered in the country without money.

4. That though he was ſecond to none that acted in war, ſuch his valour! yet he was the firſt

firſt that ſpake for peace, ſuch his ſweet diſ- Q. Eliz.
poſition!

5. That he would never ſuffer that a clergyman ſhould be abuſed, a church violated, or the dead be unburied.

6. That he would never force an enemy to a neceſſity; always ſaying, *let us diſarm them of their beſt weapons, deſpair*: nor fight an enemy before he had ſkirmiſhed him, nor undertake a deſigne before he had conſulted his God, his council, his friends, his map and his hiſtory.

His own abilities commended, and his alliance with ſir Henry Sidney lord deputy, whoſe ſiſter he married, promoted him to the government of Ireland. Once did the queen ſend him thither for his brothers ſake, four times more for his own ſake; a ſufficient evidence (ſaith my friend) of his ability and integrity, ſince princes never truſt *twice*, where they are *once* deceived in a miniſter of ſtate. He kept up his miſtreſſes intereſt, and ſhe his authority; enjoyning the earl of Eſſex, ſo much above him in honour, to truckle under him in commiſſion when governor of Ulſter, and he lord deputy of Ireland. *Defend me*, ſaid Luther to the duke of Saxony, *with your ſword, and I will defend you with my pen. Maintain my power*, ſaith the miniſter of ſtate to his ſovereign, *and I will ſupport your majeſty.*

Two things he did for the ſettlement of that kingdome:

1. He raiſed a compoſition in Munſter.

2. He eſtabliſhed the poſſeſſions of the lords and tenants in Monaghan.

Severe he was always againſt the Spaniſh faction, but very vigilant in——88, when the diſ-

Q. Eliz. perſed armado did look, but durſt not land in Ireland, except driven by tempeſt, and then finding the ſhore worſe than the ſea. But Leiceſter dieth, and he fails; when his ſun was ſet, it was preſently night with him. *Yra la ſoga-con el calderon*; where goeth the bucket, *there goeth the rope*; where the principal miſcarrieth, all the dependants fall with him; as our renowned knight, who died where he was born, (there is a circulation of all things to their original) at Milton in Northamptonſhire, 1594.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Pembroke.

Lloyd. AN excellent man, and one that faſhioned his *own fortune:* his diſpoſition got favour, and his prudence wealth, (the firſt to grace the ſecond, and the ſecond to ſupport the firſt) under king Henry the eighth, whoſe brother in law he was by his wife, and chamberlain by his place. When others were diſtracted with factions in king Edward's reign, he was intent upon his intereſt, (leaning (as he ſaid) *on both ſides the ſtairs to get up*) for his ſervice, being promoted to the maſter of the horſe's place; for his relation to the queen mother, to the order of St. George; and in his own right, to the barony of Caerdiffe, and the earldome of Pembroke.

Under queen Mary his popularity was very ſerviceable when general againſt Wiat; his autho-

ority uſeful, when preſident of Wales; and his vigilancy remarkable, when governor of Calice: and under queen Elizabeth, for his fidelity and ancient honeſty he was made great maſter of the houſhold. But herein he failed, that being more intent upon the future ſtate of the kingdome under the ſucceſſion, than his own under the preſent ſovereign, he was cajoled by Leiceſter to promote the queen of Scots match with Norfolk ſo far, (neither with an ill will, (ſaith the annaliſt) nor a bad intent) as to loſe his own favour with the queen of England, who diſcovered thoſe things after his death that made him weary of his life: which was an inſtance of my lord Bacon's rule, That ancient nobility is more innocent, though not ſo active as the young one; this more vertuous, but not ſo plain as that; there being rarely any riſing but by a commixture of good and evil arts. He was richer in his tenants hearts than their rents; alas! what hath not that nobleman, that hath an univerſal love from his tenants? who were obſerved to live better with their encouraged induſtry upon his copyhold, than others by their ſecure ſloath on their own free-land. 2. His chaplains, whoſe merits were preferred freely and nobly to his excellent livings, without any unworthy gratuities to his *Gehazi's* or ſervants, or any unbecoming obligations to himſelf. 3 His ſervants, whoſe youth had its education in his family, and age its maintenance upon his eſtate, which was favourably let out to tenants, and freely leaſed to his ſervants; of whom he had a train upon any occaſion in his family, and an army in his neighbourhood; an army, I ſay, in his neighbourhood; Q. Eliz.

not

Q. Eliz. not to enjealous his prince, but to ſecure h[illegible] as in Wiats caſe, when this *king of hearts* would be by no means a *knave of clubs*.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Walter Mildmay.

Lloyd. Cambden Eliz. 1566

WALTER MILDMAY, that upright and moſt adviſed man, was born at Chelmſford in Eſſex, where he was a younger ſon to Thomas Mildmay, eſquire. He was bred in Chriſts-colledge in Cambridge, where he did not (as many young gentlemen) ſtudy onely in complement, but ſeriouſly applyed himſelf to his book. Under king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the ſixth, he had a gainful office in the court of augmentations: during the reign of queen Mary, he practiſed the politick precept, **bene vixit, qui bene latuit*. No ſooner came queen Elizabeth to the crown, but he was called to ſtate employment; and it was not long before he was made chancellour of the exchequer. It is obſerved, That the exchequer never feareth ill but under a good prince; ſuch who out of conſcience will not oppreſs their people, whilſt tyrants paſs not for that they ſqueeze out of their ſubjects. Indeed queen Elizabeth was very careful not to have her coffers ſwelled with the conſumption of her kingdome, and had conſcientious officers under her; amongſt whom ſir Walter was a principal one. This knight, ſenſible of God's

* He has lived well, who has retired well.

God's bleſſing on his eſtate, and knowing that *Omne beneficium requirit officium*, caſt about to make his return to God. He began with his benefactions to Chriſts-colledge Cambridge, onely to put his hand in practice; then his bounty embraced the generous reſolution, (which the painful piety of St. Paul propounds to himſelf, viz.) *Not to build on another man's foundation*, but on his own coſt he erected a new colledge in Cambridge by the name of Immanuel. A right godly gentleman he was; a good man, and a good citizen; though ſome of his back friends ſuggeſted to the queen that he was a better patriot than ſubject: and he was over-popular in parliaments, inſomuch that his life ſet *ſub nubecula*, under a cloud of a royal diſpleaſure: yet was not the cloud ſo great, but that the beams of his innocence meeting thoſe of the queen's candour, had eaſily diſpelled it had he ſurvived longer, as appeared by the great grief of the queen, profeſſed for the loſs of ſo grave a councellour, who leaving two ſons and three daughters, died anno domini 1589. *Q. Eliz.

This gentleman being employed by vertue of his place to advance the queen's treaſure, did it induſtriouſly, faithfully and conſcionably, without wronging the ſubject, being very tender of their privileges; inſomuch that he complained in parliament, *That many ſubſidies were granted and no grievances redreſſed*: which words being repreſented to his diſadvantage to the queen, made her to diſaffect him, ſetting in a court-cloud, but (as he goeth on) in the ſunſhine of his country, and a *clear conſcience*, (though a mans conſcience can be ſaid no otherwiſe clear by his oppoſition to the

* Every favour demands a return.

Q. Eliz. the court, than a man is ſaid to have a g[illegible] heart when it is but a bold one.) But coming to court after he had founded his colledge, the queen told him, *Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation. No, Madam,* ſaid he, *far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your eſtabliſhed Laws: But I have ſet an Acorn; which when it comes to be an Oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Forteſcue.

Lloyd. AN upright and a knowing man, a great maſter of *Greek* and *Latine*, and overſeer of the qu: ſtudies in both the languages; maſter of the wardrobe, one whom ſhe truſted with the ornaments of her ſoul and body: ſucceeding ſir Walter Mildway in his prudence and piety, and in his place of chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer.

Two men qu: Elizabeth would ſay out-did her expectation; Forteſcue for *Integrity*, and Walſingham for *Subtlety*, as Cambden writes, and *Officious ſervices*. His and Rawleigh's failure was their deſigne of articling with K. James at his firſt coming, not ſo much (ſay ſome in their behalf) for himſelf, as for his followers, in regard of the known feud between the nations. However, conditions unworthy of Engliſh ſubjects to offer, and below the K. of Great Britain

to

receive, who is to make no more terms for his kingdome than for his birth. The very ſolemn aſking of the people's conſent, which the arch-biſhop of Canterbury in all the corners of the ſtage at a coronation makes, importing no more than this; *Do you the people of England acknowledge, that this is the Perſon who is the Heir of the crown?* They being abſolutely obliged to ſubmit to the government upon ſuppoſition that they abſolutely believe that he is the king. Q. Eliz.

He thought it not convenient to alter frames of government, in complyance with the humours of people, which are to be managed by government, not pleaſed; for he ſaid God changed not the order of the government of the world to comply with man's defects, when he can by his Almighty power draw good out of their evils, and great glory to himſelf out of the fall of others, as in nature he doth not fit the frame of things to the ugly nature of monſters; but the irregular ſhape of monſters to the beauty of things, being of opinion, that we ſhould thank our governour, (as the Æthiopian ſlaves do their emperour when they are ſlaſhed; and ſhould God when we are corrected) for thinking of us, and having a care of us as univerſal as that God hath of the world, whom rulers repreſent within their dominions, having much of the character that God hath in the univerſe; viz. *That he is a Circle whoſe center is every where, and Circumference no where.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Drury.

Lloyd. *SIR William Drury was born in Suffolk, where his Worſhipful Family had long flouriſhed at Haulſted. His name in Saxon ſoundeth a Pearl, to which he anſwered in the pretiouſneſs of his diſpoſition, clear and hard, innocent and valiant, and therefore valued deſervedly by his queen and country. His youth was ſpent in the French wars, his middle Age in Scotland, and his old Age in Ireland. He was Knight-Marſhal of Barwick, at what time the French had poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Edenburgh, in the minority of King James. Queen Elizabeth employed this ſir William with* 1500 *men to beſiege the Caſtle; which ſervice he right worthily performed, reducing it within few days to the owner thereof. Anno* 1575, *he was appointed Lord Preſident of Munſter, whether he went with competent Forces, and executed impartial Juſtice in deſpight of the oppoſers thereof. For as the Sign of* Leo *immediately precedeth* Virgo *and* Libra *in the Zodiack; ſo I hope not that Innocency will be protected, or Juſtice adminiſtered in a barbarous Country, where power and ſtrength do not firſt ſecure a paſſage unto them. But the Earl of Deſmond oppoſed this good Preſident, forbidding him to enter the County of Kerry, as a Palatinate peculiarly appropriated unto himſelf. Know by the way, as there were but four Palatinates in England,*

nd, Cheſter, Lancaſter, Durham and Ely, (where- Q. Eliz.
of the two former many years ſince were in effect inveſted in the Crown) there were no fewer than eight Palatinates in Ireland, poſſeſſed by their reſpective Dynaſts claiming Regal Rights therein, to the great retarding of the abſolute Conqueſt of that Kingdome. Amongſt theſe, (ſaith my Author) Kerry became the Sanctuary of Sin, and Refuge of Rebels, as outlawed from any Juriſdiction. Sir William no whit terrified with the earl's threatning, and declaring that no place ſhould be a priviledge to miſchief, entered Kerry with a competent Train, and there diſpenced Juſtice to all perſons, as occaſion did require. Thus with ſevenſcore men he ſafely forced his return through ſeven hundred of the Earl's, who ſought to ſurprize him.

In the laſt year of his life he was made lord deputy of Ireland; and no doubt had performed much in his place, if not afflicted with conſtant ſickneſs, the forerunner of his death, at Waterford, 1598.

He was one of that military valour which the lord Verulam wiſheth about a prince in troubleſome times, that held a good eſteem with the ulacy, and an exact correſpondence with the ble; whereby he united himſelf to each ſide by endearments, and divided them by diſtruſt; watching the ſlow motions of the people, that they ſhould not be excited and ſpirited by the nobility; and the ambition of the great ones, that it ſhould not be befriended with the turbulency, or ſtrengthened with the aſſiſtance of the commonalty. One great act well followed did his buſineſs with the natives, whom he ſometimes

Q. Eliz. times *indulged*, (giving their diſcontents liberty to evaporate) and with the ſtrangers, whom he always *awed*. In thoſe that were commended to his ſervice, he obſerved two things: 1. That they were not advanced for their dependence, becauſe they promote a party: which he noted to be the firſt ground of recommendation: 2. Nor for their weakneſs, becauſe they cannot hinder it: which he remarked to be the ſecond.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Smith.

Lloyd. SIR Thomas Smith was born at * Saffron-Walden in Eſſex, and bred in queen's colledge in Cambridge; where ſuch his proficiency in learning, that he was choſen out by Henry the eighth to be ſent over, and to be brought up beyond the ſeas. It was faſhionable in that age that pregnant ſtudents were maintained on the coſt of the ſtate, to be merchants for experience in forreign parts: whence returning home with their gainful adventurers, they were preferred according to the improvement of their time to offices in their own country. Well it were if this good old cuſtome were reſumed: for if were God hath given five talents, men would give but pounds, I mean, encourage hopeful abilities with hopeful maintenance, able perſons would never be wanting, and poor men with great

* Camb. Eliz. anno 1577.

[illegible]t part would not be excluded the line of preferment. This ſir Thomas was firſt ſervant and favourite to the duke of Somerſet, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate to queen Elizabeth, and a grand benefactor to both univerſities. Q. Eliz.

Anno 1577, when that excellent act paſſed, whereby it was provided, *That a third part of the Rent upon Leaſes made by Colledges, ſhould be reſerved in Corn, paying it either in kind or in money, after the rate of the beſt prices in Oxford or Cambridge-markets, the next Market-days before Michaelmas or our Lady-day:* for the paſſing of this act ſir Thomas Smith ſurprized the houſe; and whereas many conceived not the difference between the payment of rents in corn or money, the knowing patriot took the advantage of the preſent cheap year, knowing that hereafter grain would grow dearer, mankinde dayly multiplying, and licenſe being lately given for tranſportation; ſo that now when the Univerſities have leaſt corn, they have moſt bread. What his foreſight did now for the Univerſity, his reach did the firſt year of queen Elizabeth for the kingdome: for the firſt ſitting of her councel he adviſed twelve moſt important things for the publick ſafety.

1. That the ports ſhould be ſhut.

2. That the tower of London ſhould be ſecured in good hands.

3. That the deputy of Ireland's commiſſion ſhould be renewed and enlarged.

4. That all officers ſhould act.

5. That no new office ſhould be beſtowed in a moneth.

6. That

Q. Eliz. troverſies. 6. That miniſters ſhould meddle with no c

7. That embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to forreign princes.

8. That no coyn ſhould be tranſported beyond ſea.

9. That no perſon of quality ſhould travel for ſix weeks.

10. That the train-bands ſhould be muſtered.

11. That Ireland, the borders, and the ſeas, ſhould be provided for.

12. And that the diſſenting nobility and clergy ſhould be watched and ſecured. Adding withal a paper for the reading of the epiſtle, the goſpel, and the commandments in the Engliſh tongue, to encourage the proteſtants expectation, and allay the papiſts fear. In the ſame proclamation that he drew up, the ſacrament of the altar was to be reverenced, and yet the communion to be adminiſtred in both kinds. He adviſed a diſputation with the papiſts one day, (knowing that they could not diſpute without leave from the pope, and ſo would diſparage their cauſe; yet they could not ſay but they might diſpute for the queen, and ſo ſatisfie the people, and is one of the * five councellours to whom the deſigne of the reformation is open'd, and one of the † eight to whom the management of it was intruſted. There you might ſee him a leading man among the ſtates-men, here moſt eminent among divines; at once the moſt

* The marqueſs of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, ſir William Cecil, Thomas Smith.

† The doctors Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, Pillington, and ſir Thomas Smith.

[redacted]t knowing and pious man of that age. As Q. Eliz. his induſtry was taken up with the eſtabliſhment of our affairs at home, ſo his watchfulneſs (upon ſir Edward Carews depoſition of his embaſſie) was intent upon the plot of France and Rome abroad: in the firſt of which places he made a ſecretary his own, and in the ſecond a cup-bearer. At the treaty of Cambray my lord Howard of Effingham, the lord chamberlain, and he, brought the king of Spain to the Engliſh ſide in the buſineſs of Calice: 1. That France might be weakened: 2. That his Netherlands might be ſecured: 3. That the queen his ſweet-heart might be obliged, until he diſcovered queen Elizabeth's averſeneſs to the marriage: whereupon had it not been for the viſcount Mountacute (who was not ſo much a papiſt as to forget that he was an Engliſh-man) and ſir Thomas, the Spaniard had ſtoln over Catharine Grey, queen Elizabeth's neice, for a pretence to the crown, as the French had the queen of Scots her cozen. After which, he and ſir William Cecil adviſed her majeſty to that private treaty apart, without the Spaniard, which was concluded 1559, as much to the *honour* of England, now no longer to truckle under Spain, as its *intereſt*, no longer in danger from France. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the metal in theſe treaties, and ſir Thomas Smith the allay: the ones mildneſs being to mitigate that animoſity which the others harſhneſs had begot; and the other's ſpirit to recover thoſe advantages which this man's eaſineſs had yielded. Yet he ſhewed himſelf as much a man in demanding, as ſir William Cheyney in gaining Calice; replying

Q. Eliz. ſmartly upon chancellour Hoſpital's diſcourſe ancient right, the *late* * *Treaty*; and upon Mo[illegible] morency's harangue of fears, *Conſcience.* Pitying the neglected ſtate of Ireland, he obtained a colony to be planted under his baſe ſon in the eaſt-coaſt of Ulſter, called Ardes, at once to civilize and ſecure that place. So eminent was this gentleman for his learning, that he was at once ſteward of the ſtannaries, dean of Carliſle, and provoſt of Eaton in king Edward's time, and had a penſion (on condition he went not beyond ſea, ſo conſiderable he was) in queen Mary's.

Well he deſerved of the *Commonwealth* of learning by his books: 1. Of *the Commonwealth of* England, 2. Of *the Orthography of the Engliſh Tongue*, and of the pronunciation of greek; and 3. an exact commentary of matters, ſaith Mr. Cambden, worthy to be publiſhed.

Obſervations on the Lives of Doctor Dale, *the Lord* North, *Sir* Thomas Randolph.

Lloyd. I Put theſe gentlemen together in my obſervations, becauſe I finde them ſo in their employments: the one agent, the other Leiger, and the third extraordinary embaſſador in France; the firſt was to manage our intelligence in thoſe dark

* At Cambray.

k times, the ſecond to urge our intereſt in Q. Eliz.
oſe troubleſome days, and the third to
repreſent our grandeur. No man underſtood the French correſpondence with the Scots better than ſir Thomas Randolph, who ſpent his active life between thoſe kingdomes: none knew better our concerns in France and Spain than Valentine Dale, who had now ſeen ſix treaties; in the firſt three whereof he had been ſecretary, and in the laſt a commiſſioner: none fitter to repreſent our ſtate than my lord North, who had been two years in Walſingham's houſe, four in Leiceſter's ſervice; had ſeen ſix courts, twenty battles, nine treaties, and four ſolemn juſts; whereof he was no mean part, as a reſerved man, a valiant ſouldier, and a courtly perſon. So ſly was Dale, that he had a ſervant always attending the queen-mother of France, the queen of Scots, and the king of Navarre: ſo watchful ſir Thomas Randolph, that the ſame day he ſent our agent in Scotland notice of a deſigne to carry over the young king, and depoſe the regent, he adviſed our queen of a match between the king of Scot's uncle and the counteſs of Shrewſbury's daughter; and gave the earl of Huntington, then preſident of the north, thoſe ſecret inſtructions touching that matter, that (as my lord Burleigh would often acknowledge) ſecured that coaſt. My L. North watched the ſucceſſes of France, Dr. Dale their leagues; and both took care that the prince of Orange did not throw himſelf upon the protection of France, always a *dangerous* neighbour, but with that *acceſſion* a dreadful one. Sir John Horſey in Holland propoſed much, but did nothing; ſir Thomas Randolph in France

Q. Eliz. performed mu[illegible] and ſaid nothing: yet [illegible] with Dr. Dale's aſſiſtance made France and Spa[illegible] the ſcales in the balance of Europe, and England the tongue or holder of the balance, while they held the Spaniard in play in the Netherlands, watched the French borders, and kept conſtant agents with Orange and Don John. Neither was ſir Thomas leſs in Scotland than in France, where he betakes himſelf firſt to *reſolution* in his *Proteſtation*, and then to *cunning* in his *Negotiation*; encouraging Morton on the one hand, and amuſing Lenox on the other: keeping fair weather with the young king, and yet practiſing with Marre and Anguſe. Nothing plauſible indeed, ſaith Cambden, was he with the wiſe, though youthful king James; yet very dexterous in Scotiſh humours, and very prudent in the northern affairs; very well ſeen in thoſe intereſts, and as ſucceſsful in thoſe negotiations; witneſs the firſt and advantageous league 1586. * *Video & rideo*, is God's motto upon affronts; † *Video & Taceo*, was queen Elizabeth's; ‡ *Video nec vident*, was ſir Thomas Randolph's. Theſe three men treated with the Spaniard near Oſtend for peace, while the Spaniard prepared himſelf on our coaſt for war. So much did ſir James Crofts his affection for peace exceed his Ju[illegible]ment of his inſtruction, that he would n[illegible]s ſteal over to Bruſſels to make it, with no leſs commendation for the prudent articles he propoſed, than cenſure for the hazard he incurred in the propoſal. So equal and even did old Dale carry himſelf, that the duke of Parma ſaw in his anſwers the Engliſh ſpirit, and therefore, (ſaith

* I ſee and laugh to ſcorn. † I ſee and hold my peace.
‡ I ſee and am not ſeen.

th my author) durſt not try that valour in Q. Eliz.
a nation, which he was ſo afraid of in a ſingle perſon; that he had no more to ſay to the old gentleman, than onely this, *Theſe things are in the hand of the Almighty.*

None more inward with other men than ſir Francis Walſingham, none more inward with him than ſir Thomas Randolph: well ſtudied he was in *Juſtinian's* code, better in *Machiavel's* diſcourſes; both when a learned ſtudent of Chriſt-church, and a worthy principal of Broadgate's: thrice therefore was he an embaſſadour to the lords of Scotland in a commotion; thrice to queen Mary in times of peace; ſeven times to James the ſixth of Scotland for a good underſtanding; and thrice to Baſilides emperour of Ruſſia for trade: once to Charles the ninth king of France, to diſcover his deſigne upon Scotland; and once to Henry the third, to open a conſpiracy of his ſubjects againſt him: great ſervices theſe, but meanly rewarded; the ſerviceable, but moderate and modeſt man, (though he had as many children at home as he had performed embaſſies abroad) being contented with the chamberlainſhip of the exchequer, and the poſtmaſter's place; the firſt but a name, and the ſecond then but a noiſe; to which were added ſome ſmall farms, wherein he enjoyed the peace and innocence of a quiet and retired *Life*; a life, which upon the reflections of a tender conſcience, he wiſhed a great while, as appears by his letters to his dear Walſingham, wherein he writes, *How worthy, yea, how neceſſary a thing it was, that they ſhould at length bid Farewel to the ſnares, he of a Secretary, and himſelf of an*

Q. Eliz. *Embaſſadour; and ſhould both of them ſet their mindes upon their Heavenly Country; and by repenting, aſk mercy of GOD.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Amias Powlet.

Lloyd. SIR Amias Poulet, born at Hinton St. George in Summerſetſhire, ſon to ſir Hugh, and grandchilde to ſir * Amias Powlet, was chancellour of the garter, governour of the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, and privy-councellour to queen Elizabeth. He was ſo faithful and truſty, that the queen committed the keeping of Mary queen of Scots to his cuſtody, which he diſcharged with great fidelity.

As *Cæſar* would have his wife, ſo he his ſpirit, above the very ſuſpicion of unworthineſs; equally conſulting his *Fame* and his *Conſcience*. When he performed his laſt embaſſie, with no leſs ſatisfaction to the king of France, than honour to the queen of England, (at once with a *good humour* and a *great ſtate*) he would not accept a chain (and all gifts are chains) from that king by any means, until he was a league from Paris: *then* he took it, becauſe he would *oblige* that prince; and not till then, becauſe he would not be obliged by any but his ſoveraign, ſaying, *I will wear no Chains but my Miſtreſſes.* It is the

* Who put Cardinal Wolſey, then but a Schoolmaſter, in the Stocks.

(ſame intereſt of princes, that their *Servants For-* Q. Eliz.
tune ſhould be above the temptation; it is their
happineſs, that their *Spirits* are above the reſ-
pects of a private concern.

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir James Crofts, John Grey *of* Pyrgo, *Sir* Henry Gates.

EMblems of honour derived from anceſtors, Lloyd.
are but rotten rags, where ignoble poſte-
rity degenerates from their progenitors: but
they are both glorious and precious where the
children both anſwer and exceed the vertues of
their extraction; as in theſe three gentlemen,
whoſe anceſtors fill both pages of former kings
chronicles, as they do the annals of queen Eliza-
beth's three gentlemen whom it's pity to part in
their *Memoires*, ſince they were always together
in their employments. All three were like to
die in queen Mary's days for the profeſſion of the
Proteſtant religion, all three ſpending their
lives in queen Elizabeth's for the propagation of
it: 1. Sir Henry Gates lying in Rome as a ſpy,
under the notion of cardinal Florido's ſecretary,
ſix years; John Grey drawing up the whole pro-
ceedings and methods of the reformation for ten
years; and ſir James Crofts being either the vi-
gilant and active governour of Berwick, or the
prudent and ſucceſsful commiſſioner in Scotland
for ſeven years. When the French threatned us
by

Q. Eliz. by the way of Scotland, the earl of Northumberland was ſent northward for his intereſt, as warden of the middle march; ſir Ralph Sadler for his wiſdome, as his aſſiſtant and councellour; and ſir James Crofts for his conduct, as both their guide and director-general. An eſtate in the *Purſe*, *credits* the court; wiſdome in the *Head*, *adorneth* it; but both in the *Hand*, *ſerve* it. Nobly did he and Cuthbert Vaughan beat the French that ſallied out of Edinburgh into their trenches, but unhappily ſtood he an idle ſpectator in his quarter the next ſcalado, while the Engliſh are overthrown, and the duke writes of his infidelity to the queen, who diſcharged him from his place, though not from her favour; for in ſtead of the more troubleſome place, the government of Berwick, ſhe conferred on him that more honourable, the controllerſhip of her houſhold. Great ſervice did his valour at Hadington in Scotland againſt the French, greater his prudence in Ulſter againſt the Spaniards. Although his merit made his honour due to him, and his blood *becoming*; though his cares, travels and dangers deſerved *pity*; his quiet and meek nature *love*: though he roſe by wary degrees, and ſo was unobſerved; and ſtood not inſolently when up, and ſo was not obnoxious: yet envy reflected as hot upon him as the ſun upon the riſing ground, which ſtands firm though it doth not flouriſh, as this gentleman's reſolved honeſty did; overcoming court-envy with a ſolid worth; waxing old at once in years and reverence, and *dying* (as the chronicle wherein he *dieth* not but with time, reports

reports it) in good favour with his prince, and Q. Eliz. found reputation with all men, for three infallible ſources of honour: 1. That he aimed at merit more than fame: 2. That he was not a follower, but an example in great actions: and, 3. That he aſſiſted in the three great concerns of government, 1. in laws, 2. in arms, and 3. in councils. In *Æſop* there is a ſlight fable of a deep moral: it is this: *Two Frogs conſulted together in the time of Drowth (when many plaſhes that they had repaired to were dry) what was to be done; and the one propounded to go down into a deep well, becauſe it was like the water would not fail there: but the other anſwered, Yea, but if it do fail, how ſhall we get up again? Mr. Grey* would nod, and ſay, *Humain affairs are ſo uncertain, that he ſeemeth the wiſeſt man, not who hath a ſpirit to* go on, *but who hath a warineſs to* come off: *and that ſeems the beſt courſe, that hath moſt paſſages out of it.* Sir James Crofts on the other hand hated that irreſolution that would do nothing, becauſe it may be at liberty to do any thing. *Indeed* ſaith one, *Neceſſity hath many times an advantage, becauſe it awaketh the powers of the minde and ſtrengtheneth endeavour.* Sir James Crofts was an equal compoſition of both; as one that had one fixed eye on his *Action*, and another indifferent one on his *retreat*.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of William *Lord* Grey of Wilton.

Lloyd. THAT great ſouldier and good chriſtian, in whom religion was not a *ſoftneſs*, (as Machiavel diſcourſed) but a *reſolution.* Hannibal was *ſworn* an enemy to Rome at nine years of age, and my lord *bred* one to France at fourteen. Scipio's firſt ſervice was the reſcue of his father in Italy, and my lord Grey's was the ſafety of his father in Germany. He had Fabius his ſlow way, and long reach, with Herennius his fine policies, and neat Ambuſcadoes; having his two companions always by him, his map and his guide: the firſt whereof diſcovered to him his more obvious advantages, and the ſecond his more cloſe dangers. His great conduct won him much eſteem with thoſe that heard of him, and his greater preſence more with thoſe that ſaw him. Obſervable his civility to ſtrangers, eminent his bounty to his followers; obliging his carriage in the countries he marched through, and expert his ſkill in wars, whoſe end he ſaid was victory, and the end of victory nobleneſs, made up of pity and munificence. It loſt him his eſtate to redeem himſelf in France, and his life to bear up his reputation in Berwick. Having lived to all the great purpoſes of life but ſelf-intereſt; he died 1563, that fatal year; no leſs to the publick ſorrow of England which he ſecu-

ſecured, than the common joy of Scotland, which he *awed*. Then it was ſaid, *That the ſame day died the greateſt Scholar, and the greateſt Souldier of the Nobility*; the right honourable Henry Mannors earl of Rutland in his gown, and the honourable lord Grey in his armour; both, as the queen ſaid of them, *Worthies, that had deſerved well of the Commonwealth by their Wiſdome, Councel, Integrity and Courage.* Q. Eliz.

Two things my lord always avoided: the firſt, to give many reaſons for one thing; the heaping of arguments arguing a needineſs in every of the arguments by its ſelf; as if one did not truſt *any* of them, but fled from one to another, helping himſelf ſtill with the laſt. The ſecond, to break a negotiation to too many diſtinct particulars, or to couch it in too compact generals: by the firſt whereof we give the parties we deal with an opportunity to look down to the bottom of our buſineſs; and by the ſecond, to look round to the *compaſs* of it. Happy are thoſe ſouls that command themſelves ſo far, that they are equally free to full and half diſcoveries of themſelves, always ready and pliable to the preſent occaſion. Not much regarded was this gallant ſpirit when alive, but much miſſed when dead; we underſtand what we want, better than what we enjoy; and the beauty of worthy things is not in the face, but the back-ſide, endearing more by their departure than their addreſs.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Edmund Plowden.

Lloyd. EDMUND PLOWDEN was born a Plowden in Shropſhire; one who excellently deſerved of our municipal law in his learned writings thereon. A plodding and ſtudious man; and no wonder if knowing and able: beams in reflexion are hotteſt, and the ſoul becomes wiſe by looking into its ſelf. But ſee the man in his *Epitaph!*

Conditur in hoc Tumulo corpus Edmundi Plowden Armigeri. Claris ortus Parentibus, apud Plowden in Comitatu Salop, natus eſt a pueritia in literarum Studio liberaliter ej educatus, in Provectiore vero ætate Legibus & Juriſprudentiæ operam dedit. Senex jam factus, & annum ætatis ſuæ agens 67, Mundo Valedicens, in Chriſto Jeſu Sancte obdormivit, die Sexto Menſis Februar. Anno Domini 1585.

I have the rather inſerted this epitaph inſcribed on his monument on the north-ſide of the eaſt-end

* Within this Tomb lies the Body of Edmund Plowden Eſq; deſcended from illuſtrious Parents. He was born a Plowden in the County of Salop, liberally educated from his Infancy, in his riper Years he applied himſelf to the Study of the Common and Civil Law. Taking leave of this World, he ſlept in Chriſt on the 6th Day of Feb. 1585 aged 67.

end of the quire of Temple-church in London, Q. Eliz.
becauſe it hath eſcaped (but by what caſualty I cannot conjecture) maſter Stow in his Survey of London. We muſt adde a few words out of the character Mr. Cambden gives of him:

* *Vitæ integritate inter homines ſuæ profeſſionis nulli ſecundum.* As he was ſingularly well learned in the common laws of England, whereof he deſerved well by writing; ſo for integrity of life he was ſecond to none of his profeſſion. And how excellent a medley is made, when honeſty and ability meet in a man of his profeſſion! nor muſt we forget how he was treaſurer for the honourable ſociety of the middle-Temple, *Anno* 1572, when their magnificent hall was builded; he being a great advancer thereof. Finding the coyn embaſed by Henry the eighth, ſo many ways prejudical to this ſtate, as that which firſt diſhonoured us abroad; ſecondly, gave way to the frauds of coyners at home, who exchanged the beſt commodities of the land for baſe moneys, and exported the current moneys into forreign parts; and thirdly, enhanced the prizes of all things vendible, to the great loſs of all ſtipendiaries. He offered, 1. That no man ſhould melt any metal, or export it: 2. That the braſs money ſhould be reduced to its juſt value: 3. That it ſhould be bought for good; by which ſilent and juſt methods, that defect of our government for many years was remedied in a few moneths, without any *noiſe*, or (what is proper to alterations of this nature) *diſcontent*.

The middle region of the *Air* is cooleſt, as moſt diſtant from the direct beams that warm the high-

* That he was ſecond to none of his profeſſion in Integrity.

Q. Eliz. higheſt, and the reflexed that heat the loweſt: the mean man, that is as much below the favour of the court, as above the buſineſs of the country, was in our judges opinion the moſt happy and compoſed man; this being the utmoſt of a knowing man's wiſh in England, that he were as much out of the reach of contempt, as to be above a conſtable; and as much out of the compaſs of trouble, as to be below a juſtice. A mean is the utmoſt that can be preſcribed either of vertue or bliſs, as in our actions, ſo in our ſtate.

Great was the capacity, and good the inclination of this man; large the furniture, and happy the culture of his ſoul; grave his mein, and ſtately his behaviour; well-regulated his affections, and allayed his paſſions; well-principled his mind, and well-ſet his ſpirit; ſolid his obſervation, working and practical his judgment: and as that Roman heroe was more eminent whoſe image was miſſing, than all the reſt whoſe portraictures were ſet up; ſo this accompliſhed gentleman is more obſervable becauſe he was not a ſtates-man, than ſome of thoſe that were ſo. There is a glory in the obſcurity of worthy-men, who as that ſun (which they equal as well in common influence as luſtre) are moſt looked on when *eclipſed.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Roger Manwood.

SIR Roger Manwood born at Sandwich in Kent, attained to ſuch eminency in the common law, that he was preferred ſecond juſtice of the common pleas by queen Elizabeth; which place he diſcharged with ſo much ability and integrity, that not long after he was made chief baron of the exchequer; which office he moſt wiſely managed, to his great commendation, full fourteen years, to the day of his death. Lloyd.

Much was he employed in matters of State, and was one of the commiſſioners who ſate on the tryal of the queen of Scots. He wrote a book on the foreſt-laws, which is highly prized by men of his profeſſion. In vacation-time he conſtantly inhabited at St. Stephen's in Canterbury, and was bounteouſly liberal to the poor inhabitants thereof: and ſo charitable was he, that he erected and endowed a fair free ſchool at Sandwich, dying in the 35 of queen Elizabeth, anno Dom. 1593.

Cloaths for neceſſity, warm cloaths for health, cleanly for decency, laſting for ſtrength, was his maxime and practice, who kept a ſtate in decent plainneſs; inſomuch that queen Elizabeth called him her Good-man Judge. In Daviſon's caſe, Mildmay cleared the man of malice, but taxed him

Q. Eliz. him with unſkilfulneſs and raſhneſs: Lumley ſaid he was an ingenious and an honeſt man, but preſumptuous. *I will ever eſteem him an honeſt and good man*, ſaid Grey. The archbiſhop of Canterbury approved the fact, commended the man, but diſallowed of the manner and form of his proceedings. Manwood made a narrative of the queen of Scots proceedings, confirmed the ſentence againſt her, extolled the queen's clemency, pitied Daviſon and fined him 10000 *l.*

A man he was of a pale conſtitution, but a clear, even, and ſmooth temper; of a pretty ſolid conſiſtence, equally ſanguine and flegmatique: of a quiet ſoul, and ſerene affections: of a diſcreet ſweetneſs, and moderate manners; ſlow in paſſion, and quick enough in apprehenſion; wary in new points, and very fixed and judicious in the old. A plauſible, inſinuating, and fortunate man; the idea of a wiſe man; having (what that elegant educator wiſheth) *that great habit which is nothing elſe but a promptneſs and plentifulneſs in the ſtore-houſe of the mind, of clear imaginations well-fixed:* which was promiſed in his erect and forward ſtature, his large breaſt, his round and capacious forehead, his curious and obſerving eye, (the clear and ſmart argument of his clearer and quicker ſoul, which owned a liveline ſs equally far from volatileneſs and ſtupidity) his ſteady attention and his ſolid memory, together with what is moſt conſiderable, a good inclination to imitate and excel. What Plutarch ſaith of Timoleon with reference to Epaminondas, that we may ſay of this gentleman, *That his life and actions are like Homer's verſes, ſmooth and flowing, equal and happy:* eſpecially in the two grand

grand embelishments of our nature, friendſhip and charity. 1. Friendſhip, that ſacred thing whereof he was a paſſionate lover, and an exact obſerver, promoting it among all men he converſed with. Surely there is not that content on earth like the union of minds and intereſts, whereby we enjoy ourſelves by reflection in our friend; it being the moſt dreadful ſolitude and wildneſs of nature, to be friendleſs. But his friendſhip was a contracted beam to that ſun of charity, that bleſſed all about him. His ſalary was not more fixed than his charity: he and the poor had one revenue, one quarter-day: Inſtead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice to ſeek for them; laying out by truſtees for penſioners, either hopeful or indigent, whereof he had a catalogue that made the beſt comment upon that text, *The liberal man deviſeth liberal things.* This is the beſt conveyance that ever lawyer made, *To have and to hold to him and his heirs for ever.* Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Chriſtopher Wray.

SIR Chriſtopher Wray was born in the ſpacious pariſh of Bedal, the main motive which made his daughter Frances, counteſs of Warwick, ſcatter her benefactions the thicker in that place. He was bred in the ſtudy of our municipal law; and ſuch his proficiency therein, that in the ſixteenth of queen Elizabeth, in Michael- Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. mas-term, he was made lord chief juſtice of the king's bench. He was not like that judge, *who feared neither God nor man*, but onely *one widow, (leſt her importunity ſhould weary him;)* but heartily feared God in his religious converſation. Each man he reſpected with his due diſtance off the bench, and no man on it to byaſs his judgment. He was *pro tempore*, lord privy ſeal, and ſat chief in the court when ſecretary Daviſon was ſentenced in the ſtar-chamber Sir Chriſtopher collecting the cenſures of all the commiſſioners, concurred to fine him: but with this comfortable concluſion, *That, as it was in the queens power to have him puniſhed, ſo her highneſs might be prevailed with for mitigating or remitting of the fine:* and this our judge may be preſumed no ill inſtrument in the procuring thereof.

He bountifully reflected on Magdalene-Colledge in Cambridge; which infant foundation had otherwiſe been ſtarved at nurſe for want of maintenance. We know who ſaith, *The righteous man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children*, and the well-thriving of his third generation may be an evidence of his well-gotten goods. This worthy judge died May the eighth, in the thirty fourth of queen Elizabeth. When judge Mounſon and Mr. Dalton urged in Stubs, his caſe, (that writ againſt queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Anjou) That the act of Philip and Mary againſt *the authors and ſowers of ſeditious writings* was miſtimed, and that it died with queen Mary; my lord chief juſtice Wray, upon whom the queen relied in that caſe, ſhewed there was no miſtaking in the noting of the time; and proved by the words of the act, that the act

act was made againſt thoſe which ſhould violate the king by ſeditious writing; and that the king of England never dieth: yea, that that act was renewed *anno primo* Eliz. during the life of her and the heirs of her body. Q. Eliz.

Five particulars I have heard old men ſay he was choice in: 1. His friend, which was always wiſe and equal; 2. His wife; 3. His book; 4. His ſecret; 5. His expreſſion and garb. By four things he would ſay an eſtate was kept: 1. By underſtanding it; 2. By ſpending not until it comes; 3. By keeping old ſervants; 4. By a quarterly audit. The properties of infancy, is innocence; of childhood, reverence; of manhood, maturity; and of old age, wiſdome: wiſdome! that in this grave perſon acted all its brave parts; *i. e.* was mindful of what is paſt, obſervant of things preſent, and provident for things to come. No better inſtance whereof need be alledged than his pathetick diſcourſes in the behalf of thoſe two great *ſtays* of this kingdome, huſbandry and merchandize: for he had a clear diſcerning judgement, and that not onely in points of law, which yet his arguments and deciſions in that profeſſion manifeſt without diſpute; but in matters of policy and government, wherein his gueſs was uſually as near prophecy as any man's: as alſo in the little myſteries of private manage, by which upon occaſion he hath unravelled the ſtudied cheats and intrigues of the cloſet-men: to which when you adde his happy faculty of communicating himſelf, by a free and graceful elocution, to charm and command his audience, aſſiſted by the attractive dignity of his preſence, you will not admire that he managed

Q. Eliz. his juſticeſhip with ſo much ſatisfaction to the court, and that he left it with ſo much applauſe from the country: for theſe two peculiarities he had, That none was more tender to the poor, or more civil in private; and yet none more ſtern to the rich, I mean juſtices of peace, officers, &c. or more ſevere in publick. He delighted indeed to *be loved*, not *reverenced:* yet knew he very well how to aſſert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt.

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Worceſter.

Lloyd. THE lord of Worceſter, (as no mean favourite) was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of the queen's grandfather's line by the mother; which ſhe could never forget, eſpecially where there was a concurrency of old blood with fidelity, a mixture which ever ſorted with the queen's nature. He was firſt made maſter of the horſe, and then admitted of her council of ſtate. In his youth (part whereof he ſpent before he came to reſide at court) he was a very fine gentleman, and the beſt horſe-man and tilter of the times, which were then the manlike and noble recreations of the court: and when years had abated theſe exerciſes of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counſellour. He was the laſt liver of all the ſervants of her favour, and had the honour to ſee his renowned

nowned miſtreſs, and all of them laid in the places of their reſt; and for himſelf, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died in a peaceable old age, full of riches and honour. His father's temperance reached to 97 years of age, becauſe he never eat but one meal a-day; and his ſparingneſs attained to 84, becauſe he never eat but of one diſh. He came to the queen's favour, becauſe as her father ſo ſhe loved *a man*; he kept in, becauſe as her father too ſo ſhe loved *an able man*. His man-like recreations commended him to the ladies, his prudent atchievements to the lords. He was made maſter of the horſe becauſe active, and privy councellour becauſe wiſe; his miſtreſs excuſed his faith, which was popiſh; but honoured his faithfulneſs, which was Roman; it being her uſual ſpeech, that my lord of Worceſter had *reconciled* what ſhe thought *inconſiſtent, a ſtiff papiſt, to a good ſubject*. His religion was not pompous, but ſolid; not the ſhew of his life, but the comfort of his ſoul. A great maſter he was of others affections, and greater of his own paſſions; many things diſpleaſed, nothing angered my lord of Worceſter, whoſe maxime was, *That he would not be diſordered within himſelf, onely becauſe things were out of order without him*: he had this maxime whence he had his nature, from his prudent father ſir Charles Somerſet, the firſt earl of Worceſter of that name, whoſe temper was ſo pliable, and nature ſo peaceable, that being aſked (as it is uſually reported of him) How he paſſed ſo troubleſome a reign as king Henry's, ſo uncertain as king Edward's, ſo fierce as queen Mary's, and ſo unexpected as queen Elizabeth's, with ſo quiet, ſo fixed, ſo Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. ſmooth, ſo reſolved and ready a mind and frame? anſwered, it was becauſe he underſtood the *intereſt* of the kingdome, while others obſerved its *Humours*. His firſt publick ſervice was to repreſent the grandeur of his miſtreſs at the chriſtening of the Daulphine of France, and his laſt *the like* at the marriage of the king of Scots, whom he honoured with the garter from his miſtreſs, and adviſed to beware of papiſts from the council.

The frame of this noble man's body, (as it is delineated by ſir W. P.) ſeems ſuited to the noble uſe it was deſigned for, The entertaining of a moſt pure and active ſoul; but equally to the advantage of ſtrength and comelineſs, befriended with all proportionate dimenſions, and a moſt grave, yet obliging carriage. There was a clear ſprightfulneſs in his complexion, but a ſad reſervedneſs in his nature; both making up that bleſſed compoſition of a wiſe and winning man, of as great hardſhip of body, as nobleneſs of ſpirit. Of a quick ſight, and an accurate ear; a ſteady obſervation, and ready expreſſion: with the torrent whereof he at once pleaſed king James, and amazed king Henry, being the moſt natural orator in the world. Among all which endowments, I had almoſt forgot his memory, that was very faithful to him in things and buſineſs, though not punctilio's and formalities: great parts he had, the range and compaſs whereof filled the whole circle of generous learning in that perſon, as it hath done in the following heroes of that family to this day.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Killigrew.

TRAVELLERS report, That the place wherein the body of Abſalom was buried is ſtill extant at Jeruſalem, and that it is a ſolemn cuſtome of pilgrims paſſing by it to caſt a ſtone on the place: but a well-diſpoſed man can hardly go by the memory of this worthy perſon without doing grateful homage thereunto, in beſtowing upon him one or two of our obſervations. It's a queſtion ſometimes whether diamond gives more luſtre to the ring it's ſet in, or the ring to the diamond: this gentleman received honour from his family, and gave renown to it. Writing is the character of the ſpeech, as that is of the mind. From Tully (whoſe orations he could repeat to his dying day) he gained an even and apt ſtile, flowing at one and the ſelf-ſame heighth. Tully's Offices, a book which boys read, and men underſtand, was ſo eſteemed of my lord Burleigh, that to his dying day he always carried it about him, either in his boſome or his pocket, as a compleat piece that, like Ariſtotle's rhetorick, would make both a ſcholar and an honeſt man. Cicero's magnificent orations againſt Anthony, Catiline and Verres; Cæſar's great Commentaries that he wrote with the ſame ſpirit that he fought; flowing Livy; grave, judicious and ſtately Tacitus; eloquent, but faith- Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. ful Curtius; brief and rich Saluſt, prudent and brave Xenophon, whoſe perſon was Themiſtocles his companion, as his book was Scipio Affricanus his pattern in all his wars; ancient and ſweet Herodotus; ſententious and obſerving Thucidides; various and uſeful Polybius; Siculus, Halicarnaſſeus, Trogus, Oroſius, Juſtine, made up our young man's retinue in all his travels, where (as Diodorus the Sicilian writes) he *ſate on the ſtage of humane life, obſerving the great circumſtances of places, perſons, times, manners, occaſions, &c. and was made wiſe by their example who have trod the path of errour and danger before him.* To which he added that grave, weighty, and ſweet Plutarch, whoſe books (ſaid Gaza) would furniſh the world, were all others loſt. Neither was he amazed in the labyrinth of hiſtory, but guided by the clue of Coſmography, hanging his ſtudy with maps, and his mind with exact notices of each place. He made in one view a judgment of the ſituation, intereſt, and commodities (for want whereof many ſtateſmen and ſouldiers have * failed) of nations: but to underſtand the nature of places, is but a poor knowledge, unleſs we know how to improve them by art; therefore under the figures of triangles, ſquares, circles and magnitudes: with their terms and bounds, he could contrive moſt tools and inſtruments, moſt engines, and judge of fortifications, architecture, ſhips, wind and water-works, and whatever might make this lower frame of things uſeful and ſerviceable to mankinde:

* As Cyrus at Thermopylæ, Craſſus in Parthia: therefore Alexander had exact maps always about him to obſerve paſſages, ſtreights, rocks, plains, rivers, &c.

kinde: which ſeverer ſtudies he relieved with no- Q. Eliz.
ble and free poetry-aid, once the pleaſure and
advancement of the ſoul, made by thoſe higher
motions of the minde more active and more
large. To which I adde her ſiſter muſick, where-
with he revived his tired ſpirits, lengthened (as
he ſaid) his ſickly days, opened his oppreſſed
breaſt, eaſed his melancholy thoughts, graced his
happy pronunciation, ordered and refined his ir-
regular and groſs inclination, fixed and quickned
his floating and dead notions; and by a ſecret,
ſweet and heavenly vertue, raiſed his ſpirit, as
he confeſſed, ſometime to a little leſs than ange-
lical exaltation. Curious he was to pleaſe his ear,
and as exact to pleaſe his eye; there being no
ſtatues, inſcriptions or coyns that the Vertuoſi of
Italy could ſhew, the antiquaries of France could
boaſt off, or the great hoarder of rarieties the
great duke of Tuſcany (whoſe antic coyns are
worth 100000 *l.*) could pretend to, that he
had not the view of. No man could draw any
place or work better, none fancy and paint a
portraicture more lively; being a Dürer for pro-
portion, a Goltzius for a bold touch, variety of
poſture, a curious and true ſhadow, an Angelo
for his happy fancy, and an Holben for oyl
works.

Neither was it a bare ornament of diſcourſe,
or naked [illegible]ion of leiſure time; but a moſt
weighty piece of knowledge that he could blazon
moſt noble and ancient coats, and thereby diſ-
cern the relation, intereſt, and correſpondence
of great families, and thereby the meaning and
bottom of all tranſactions, and the moſt ſucceſs-
ful way of dealing with any one family. His-

exer-

Q. Eliz. exerciſes were ſuch as his employments were like to be, gentle and man-like, whereof the two moſt eminent were riding and ſhooting, that at once wholeſomely ſtirred, and nobly knitted and ſtrengthened his body. Two eyes he ſaid he travelled with; the one of warineſs upon himſelf, the other of obſervation upon others. This compleat gentleman was guardian to the young Brandon in his younger years, agent for ſir John Maſon in king Edward the ſixth's time, and the firſt embaſſador for the ſtate in queen Elizabeth's time. My lord Cobham is to amuſe the Spaniard, my lord Effingham to undermine the French, and ſir Henry Killigrew is privately ſent to engage the German princes againſt Auſtria in point of intereſt, and for her majeſty in point of religion: he had a humour that bewitched the elector of Bavaria,--a carriage that awed him of Mentz, a reputation that obliged them of Colen and Hydelberg, and that reach and fluency in diſcourſe that won them all. He aſſiſted the lords Hunſdon and Howard at the treaty with France in London, and my lord of Eſſex in the war for France in Britain. Neither was he leſs obſervable for his own conduct than for that of others, whoſe ſevere thoughts, words and carriage ſo awed his inferiour faculties, as to reſtrain him through all the heats of youth, made more than uſually importunate by the full vigour of a high and ſanguine conſtitution: inſomuch that they ſay he looked upon all the approaches to that ſin, then ſo familiar to his calling as a ſouldier, his quality as a gentleman, and his ſtation as a courtier, not onely with an utter diſallowance in his judgement, but with a natural abhorrency and

and antipathy in his very lower inclinations. To Q. Eliz.
which happineſs it conduced not a little, that though he had a good, yet he had a reſtrained appetite (a knife upon his throat as well as upon his trencher) that indulged it ſelf neither frequent nor delicate entertainment; its meals, though but once a day, being its preſſures; and its faſt, its only ſenſualities: to which temperance in diet, adde but that in ſleep, together with his diſpoſal of himſelf throughout his life to induſtry and diligence, you will ſay he was a ſpotleſs man, whoſe life taught us this leſſon, (which if obſerved, would accompliſh mankinde; and which king Charles the firſt would inculcate to noble travellers, and Dr. Hammond to all men) *To be furniſhed always with ſomething to do:* a leſſon they propoſed as the beſt expedience for innocence and pleaſure; the foreſaid bleſſed man aſſuring his happy hearers, *That no burthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on ones hand: the idle man being not onely* (as he worded it) *the Devil's ſhop, but his kingdome too; a model of, and an appendage unto Hell, a place given up to torment and to miſchief.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Arthur Gray *Baron of* Wilton.

Lloyd.

ARthur Gray baron of Wilton, is juſtly reckoned amongſt the natives of Buckinghamſhire, whoſe father had his habitation (not at Wilton a decayed caſtle in Hertfordſhire, whence he took his title, but) at Waddon, a fair houſe of his family not far from Buckingham.

He ſucceeded to a ſmall eſtate, much diminiſhed on this ſad occaſion. His father William lord Gray being taken priſoner in France, after long ineffectual ſolliciting to be (becauſe captivated in the publick ſervice) redeemed on the publick charge, at laſt was forced to ranſome himſelf with the ſale of the beſt part of his patrimony. Our Arthur endeavoured to advance his eſtate by his valour, being entered into feats of war under his martial father at the ſiege of Leith 1560, where he was ſhot in the ſhoulder, which inſpirited him with a conſtant antipathy againſt the Scots. He was afterwards ſent over lord deputy into Ireland, *anno* 1580; where before he had received the ſword, or any emblems of command, *ut acrioribus initiis terrorem incuteret*, to fright his foes with fierce beginnings, he unfortunately fought the rebels at Grandilough, to the great loſs of Engliſh blood. This made many com-

commend his courage above his conduct, till he recovered his credit, and finally ſuppreſſed the rebellion of Deſmond. Returning into England, the queen chiefly relied on his counſel for ordering our land-forces againſt the Spaniards in 88, and fortifying places of advantage. The mention of that year (critical in church-differences about diſcipline at home, as well as with forreign force abroad) mindeth me that this lord was but a back-friend to biſhops; and in all diviſions of votes in parliament or council-table, ſided with the anti-prelatical party. When ſecretary Daviſon, that ſtate-pageant, (raiſed up on purpoſe to be put down) was cenſured in the ſtar-chamber about the buſineſs of the queen of Scots, this lord Gray onely defended him, as doing nothing therein but what became an able and honeſt miniſter of ſtate. An ear-witneſs ſaith, * *Hæc fuſè oratorie & animoſè Greium diſſerentem audivimus.* So that beſides bluntneſs, (the common and becoming eloquence of ſouldiers) he had a real rhetorick, and could very emphatically expreſs himſelf. Indeed this warlike lord would not wear two heads under one helmet, and may be ſaid always to have born his beaver open, not diſſembling in the leaſt degree, but owning his own judgement at all times what he was. He deceaſed *anno Domini* 1593. Q. Eliz.

Three things he was obſerved eminent for: 1. diſpatch; San Joſeph having not been a week in Ireland, before he had environed him by ſea and land. 2. For his reſolution, that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag with *Miſericordia, Miſericordia.* 3. For his prudence: 1. That he

* We have heard Gray diſcuſſing theſe Subjects with Copiouſneſs, Elegance and Spirit.

Q. Eliz. he ſaved the commanders to oblige the Spaniard: 2. That he plundered the country, to enrich his ſouldiers: 3. That he decimated the ſouldiery, to terrifie invaders; and hanged all the Iriſh, to amaze the traytors.

Henry Fitz-alan earl of Arundel, when ſteward at king Edward's coronation, or conſtable at queen Mary's, was the firſt that rid in a coach in England; my lord Gray was the firſt that brought a coach hither: one of a working brain, and a great *Mechaniſt* himſelf, and no leſs a patron to the ingenious that were ſo. That there was an emulation between him and Suſſex, was no wonder; but that the inſtance wherein he thought to diſgrace him, ſhould be his ſeverity to the Engliſh traytor, and the forreign invadors, would ſeem ſtrange to any but thoſe that conſider, 1. That princes of late would ſeem as they look on the end, and not the means; ſo they hug a cruelty, and frown on the inſtrument of it; who while he honeſtly ſacrificeth ſome irregular particulars to the intereſt of ſoveraignty, may be made himſelf a ſacrifice to the paſſion of populacy. And, 2. Which is the caſe here, that aſpiring princes may employ ſeverer natures, but ſetled ones uſe the more moderate. *Love* keeps up the *Empire* which *Power* hath ſet up.

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas *Lord* Burge.

THomas lord Burge or Borough, was born in his father's noble houſe at Gainſborough in the county of Lincoln. He was ſent embaſſadour into Scotland in 1593, to excuſe Bothwel his lurking in England, to adviſe the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of the Spaniſh faction, to advance the proteſtants in that kingdome for their king's defence, and to inſtruct that king about his council; which was done accordingly. Lloyd.

He was made lord-deputy of Ireland *anno* 1597, in the room of ſir William Ruſſel. Mr. Cambden ſaith thus of him:

* *Vir acer & animi plenus, ſed nullis fere caſtrorum rudimentis.*

As ſoon as the truce with Tyrone was expired, he ſtraightly beſieged the fort of Black-water, (the onely receptacle of the rebels in thoſe parts, beſides their woods and bogs.) Having taken this fort by force, preſently followed a bloody battle, wherein the Engliſh loſt many worthy men. He was ſtruck with untimely death before he had continued a whole year in his place; it being wittily obſerved of the ſhort lives of many wor-

* A ſhrew'd and ſpirited Man, but without much knowledge in Military affairs.

Q. Eliz. worthy men, * *Fatuos à morte defendit ipſa inſul-*
ſitas, ſi cui plus cæteris aliquantulum ſalis inſit
Netherſol. Fun. Orat. Prince Hen. p. 15, 16, 17. *(quod miremini) ſtatim putreſcit.* Things *rare* deſtroy themſelves; thoſe two things being incompatible in our nature, *Perfection* and *Laſtingneſs.*

His education was not to any particular profeſſion, yet able to manage all. *A large ſoul and a great ſpirit apart from all advantages, can do wonders.* His maſter-piece was embaſſie, where his brave eſtate ſet him above reſpects and compliance, and his comely perſon above contempt. His geography and hiſtory led to the intereſt of other princes, and his experience to that of his own. His ſkill in moſt languages helped him to underſtand others; and his reſolution to uſe onely his own, to be reſerved himſelf. In two things he was very ſcrupulous: 1. In his commiſſion, 2. In his ſervants, whom he always (he ſaid) found honeſt enough, but ſeldome quick and reſerved. And in two things very careful: *viz.* 1. The time and humour of his addreſſes; 2. The intereſt, inclinations and dependencies of favourites. A grave and ſteady man, *obſerving* every thing, but affected with nothing; keeping as great diſtance between his looks and his heart, as between his words and his thoughts. Very exact for his priviledges, very cold and indifferent in his motions, which were always guided by the emergencies in that country, and by his intelligence from home. Good he was in purſuing his limited inſtruction, excellent where he was

* Folly it ſelf defends Fools from death, whereas ſhould there be any ſharp and lively humours in a a perſon's diſpoſition, they preſently corrupt and bring him to decay.

was *free*; and his buſineſs was not his *obedience* Q. Eliz.
onely, but his *diſcretion* too: that never failed but in his laſt enterprize, which he undertook without any apparent advantage, and attempted without intelligence: an enterprize well worthy his invincible courage, but not his accuſtomed prudence; which ſhould never expoſe the perſon of a general to the danger of a common ſouldier.

Obſervations on the Life of William *Lord* Pawlet.

WILLIAM PAWLET (where-ever born) had his largeſt eſtate and higheſt honour (baron of Baſing, and marqueſs of Wincheſter) in Hantſhire. He was deſcended from a younger houſe of the Pawlets in Hinton St. George in Somerſetſhire, as by the creſcent in his arms is acknowledged. * One tells us, that he being a younger brother, and having waſted all that was left him, came to court on truſt; where, upon the ſtock of his wit, he trafficked ſo wiſely, and proſpered ſo well, that he got, ſpent, and left, more than any ſubject ſince the conqueſt. Indeed he lived at the time of the diſſolution of abbeys, which was the harveſt of eſtates; and it argued idleneſs if any courtier had his barns empty. He was ſervant to king Henry the ſeventh; and for thirty years together treaſurer to Lloyd.

* Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia.

Q. Eliz. king Henry the eighth, Edward the ſixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth: the latter in ſome ſort owed their crowns to his counſel, his policy being the principal defeater of duke Dudley's deſigne to diſ-inherit them. I behold this lord Pawlet like to aged *Adoram*, ſo often mentioned in ſcriptures, being over the tribute in the days of king * *David*, all the reign of king † *Solomon*, until the firſt ‡ year of *Rehoboam*. And though our lord Pawlet enjoyed his place not ſo many years, yet did he ſerve more ſoveraigns, in more mutable times, being (as he ſaid of himſelf) *No oak, but an Oſier*. Herein the parallel holds not: the hoary hairs of *Adoram* were ſent to the grave by a violent § death, ſlain by the people in a tumult; this lord had the rare happineſs of ‡ εὐθανασια, ſetting in his full ſplendour, having lived 97 years, and ſeen 103 out of his body. He died *anno Domini* 1572. Thus far Mr. Fuller.

This gentleman had two rules as uſeful for mankind, as they ſeem oppoſite to one another.

1. That in our conſiderations and debates, we ſhould not dwell in deceitful generals, but look into clear particulars.

2. That in our reſolutions and concluſions, we ſhould not reſt on various particulars, but riſe to uniform generals.

A man he was that reverenced himſelf, that could be vertuous when alone, and good when onely his own theatre, his own applauſe, though excel-

* 2 Sam. 20, 24. † 1 Kings, 4, 6. ‡ 1 Kings, 12.
§ 1 Ibidem.
‡ A fortunate Death.

excellent, before the world; his vertue improving by fame and glory, as an heat which is doubled by reflexion. Q. Eliz.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir James Dier.

JAMES DIER Knight, younger Son to Richard Dier, Eſquire, was born at Round-hill in Somerſetſhire, as may appear to any by the Heralds viſitation thereof. He was bred in the ſtudy of our municipal law, and was made lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, primo Eliz. *continuing therein twenty four years. When Thomas duke of Norfolk was, anno* 1572, *arraigned for treaſon, this judge was preſent thereat, on the ſame token, that when the duke deſired council to be aſſigned him, pleading that it was granted to Humphrey Stafford, in the reign of king Henry the ſeventh, our judge returned unto him, that Stafford had it allowed him only as to point of law, then in diſpute, viz.* Whether he was legally taken out of the Sanctuary? *but as for matter of fact, neither he, nor any ever had or could have council allowed him.* Lloyd.

But let his own works praiſe him in the Gates, (*know for the place of publick juſtice amongſt the Jews*) *let his learned writings, called,* The Commentaries *or* Reports, *evidence his abilities in his profeſſion. He died in* 25. *Eliz. (though married) without any iſſue; and there is a houſe of a baronet of his name, (deſcended from an elder ſon of Rich-*

Q. Eliz. *ard, father to our judge) at great Stoughton in Huntingtonſhire, well improved I believe with the addition of the* Judge's Eſtate.

There is a manuſcript of this worthy judge, wherein are ſix and forty rules for the preſervation of the commonwealth, as worthy our obſervation as they were his collection.

1. That the true religion be eſtabliſhed.

2. To keep the parts of the commonwealth equal.

3. That the middle ſort of people exceed both the extreams.

4. That the nobility be called to ſerve, or at leaſt to appear at the court by themſelves, or by the hopes of their families their children.

5. That the court pay well.

6. That trade be free; and manufactures, with all other ingenuities, encouraged.

7. That there be no co-equal powers, nor any other uſurpations againſt the foundation.

8. That their be notice taken of wiſe and well-affected perſons to employ them.

9. That corruption be reſtrained.

10. That the prince ſhew himſelf abſolute in his authority firſt, and then indulgent in his nature.

11. That the firſt ferment of ſedition, *want, &c.* be conſidered.

12. That preferments be beſtowed on merit, and not faction.

13. That troubleſome perſons be employed abroad.

14. That emulations be over ruled.

15. That the ancient and moſt eaſie way of contributions when neceſſary, be followed.

16. That

16. That the youth be diſcipled. Q. Eliz.

17. That diſcourſes and writings of government, and its myſteries be reſtrained.

18. That the active and buſie be taken to employment.

19. That the king ſhew himſelf often in majeſty, tempered with familiarity, eaſie acceſs, tenderneſs, &c.

20. That the prince perform ſome expected actions at court himſelf.

21. That no one man be gratified with the grievance of many.

22. That acts of grace paſs in the chief magiſtrate's name, and acts of ſeverity in the miniſters.

23. That the prince borrow when he hath no need.

24. That he be ſo well furniſhed with warlike proviſions, citadels, ſhips, as to be renowned for it.

25. That the neighbour-ſtates be balanced.

26. That the prince maintain very knowing agents, ſpies and intelligencers.

27. That none be ſuffered to raiſe a quarrel between the prerogative and the law.

28. That the people be awaked by muſters.

29. That in caſes of faction, colonies and plantations be found out to receive ill humours.

30. That the forts, the ſea-coaſt, and borders be ſecured.

31. That the prince be either reſident himſelf, or by a good natured and popular favourite.

32. To act things by degrees, and check all the haſty, importunate, raſh and turbulent, though well-affected.

Q. Eliz. 33. That the inhabitants have *honour* promiſcuouſly, but that *power* be kept in the well-affected's hands.

34. That there be as far as can be plain dealing, and the people never think they are deceived.

35. That there be a ſtrict eye kept upon learning, arms, and mechanical arts.

36. That there be frequent wars.

37. To obſerve the diviſions among favourites, though not to encourage them.

38. That an account be given of the publick expences.

39. That inventions be encouraged.

40. That the country be kept in its due dependance on the crown againſt the times of war, elections, &c. and to that purpoſe that the courtiers keep good houſes, &c.

41. That no diſobliging perſon be truſted.

42. That executions be few, ſuddain and ſevere.

43. To improve the benefit of a kingdome's ſituation.

44. That the liberties and priviledges of the ſubject be ſo clearly ſtated, that there may be no pretences for worſe purpoſes.

45. That the coyn be neither tranſported nor embaſed.

46. That luxury be ſuppreſſed.

Maximes theſe! that ſpake our judge ſo converſant with books and men, that that may be applied to him, which is attributed to as great a divine as he was a lawyer, viz. *That he never talked with himſelf.*

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Pelham.

SIR William Pelham was a native of Suſſex, whoſe ancient and wealthy family hath long flouriſhed in Laughton therein. His prudence in peace, and valour in war, cauſed queen Elizabeth to employ him in Ireland, where he was by the privy-council appointed lord chief juſtice to govern that land in the interim betwixt the death of ſir William Drury, and the coming in of Arthur Gray, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Lloyd.

Say not that he did but ſtop a gap for a twelvemonth at the moſt, ſeeing it was ſuch a gap, deſtruction had entered in thereat, to the final ruine of that kingdome, had not his providence prevented it. For in this juncture of time, Deſmond began his rebellion 1579, inviting ſir William to ſide with him; which wiſely gave him the hearing, with a ſmile in to the bargain. And although our knight for want of force could not cure the wounds, yet he may be ſaid to have waſhed and kept it clean, reſigning it in a recovering condition to the lord Gray, who ſucceeded him. Afterwards he was ſent over into the Low Countries 1586, being commander of the Engliſh horſe therein. It is ſaid of him, *Brabantiam perſultabat*; he leapt through Brabant; importing celerity and ſucceſs, yea, as much conqueſt as ſo ſuddain an expedition was capable of.

Q. Eliz. He had a ſtrong memory whereof he built his experience, and a large experience whereon he grounded his actions: there was no town, fort, paſſage, hill or dale, either in Ireland or Holland, but he retained by that ſtrong faculty, that was much his nature, more his art; which obſerved privately, what it ſaw publickly; recollected and fixed in the night, when he obſerved by day; truſting his head with ſolids, but not burthening it with impertinencies. Company is one of the greateſt pleaſures of mankinde, and the great delight of this man (it's unnatural to be ſolitary; the world is linked together by love, and men by friendſhip) who obſerved three things in his converſe, that it ſhould be, 1. even, 2. choice, and 3. uſeful; all his friends being either valiant, ingenious, or wiſe: that is, either ſouldiers, ſcholars, or ſtates-men. Four things he was very intent upon during his government in Ireland: 1. The prieſts, the pulpits, and the preſs: 2. The nobility: 3. The ports: 4. The forreigners. Which he purſued with that activity, the earl of Ormond aſſiſting him, that *anno* 1580, that kingdome was delivered to my lord Gray after his one year's government, in a better condition than it had been for threeſcore years before; the populacy being encouraged, the nobility truſted, feuds laid down, revenue ſettled, the ſea-towns ſecured, the ſouldiery diſciplined, and the magazines furniſhed. Whence he returned to overlook others, ſettling England againſt the Spaniards, as he had done Ireland; himſelf being an active commiſſioner in England in 88, and an eminent agent in Scotland in 89.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Waad.

A Scholar himſelf, and a patron to ſuch that were ſo; being never well but when employing the induſtrious, penſioning the hopeful, and preferring the deſerving. To his directions we owe Rider's dictionary, to his encouragement Hooker's policy, to his charge Gruter's inſcriptions. As none more knowing, ſo none more civil. No man more grave in his life and manners, no man more pleaſant in his carriage and complexion; yet no man more reſolved in his buſineſs: for being ſent by queen Elizabeth to Philip king of Spain, he would not be turned over to the Spaniſh privy-council, (whoſe greateſt grandees are dwarfs in honour to his miſtreſs) but would either have audience of the king himſelf, or return without it; though none knew better how and when to make his cloſe and underhand addreſſes to ſuch potent favourites as ſtrike the ſtroke in the ſtate; it often happening in a commonwealth, (ſaith my author) that the maſter's mate ſteers the ſhip better than the maſter himſelf. A man of a conſtant toyl and induſtry, buſie and quick, equally an enemy to the idle and ſlow undertakings, judging it a great weakneſs to ſtand ſtaring in the face of buſineſs, in that time which might ſerve to do it. In his own practice he never conſidered longer than Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. than till he could diſcern whether the thing pre-poſed was fit or not; when that was ſeen, he immediately ſet to work: when he had finiſhed one buſineſs, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was preſently conſulting what next to undertake.

Two things this gentleman profeſſed kept him up to that eminence; 1. Fame, that great incitement to excellency. 2. A friend, whom he had not onely to obſerve thoſe groſſneſſes which enemies might take notice of, but to diſcover his prudential failings, indecencies, and even ſuſpitious and barely doubtful paſſages. *Friendſhip* (ſaith my lord Bacon) *eaſeth the heart, and cleareth the underſtanding, making clear day in both; partly by giving the pureſt councel apart from our intereſt and prepoſſeſſions, and partly by allowing opportunity to diſcourſe; and by that diſcourſe to clear the mind, to recollect the thoughts, to ſee how they look in words; whereby men attain that higheſt wiſdome, which* Dionyſius *the* Areopagite *ſaith, is the* Daughter *of Reflexion.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Sidney.

Lloyd. SIR Henry Sidney, eminent for his ſon ſir Philip, and famous for his own actions, was born well, and bred better: his learning was equal to his carriage, his carriage to his good-nature, his good nature to his prudence, his pru-

prudence to his reſolution. A little he learned at ſchool, more at the Univerſity, moſt at court. His reading was aſſiduous, his converſe exact, his obſervations cloſe: his reaſon was ſtrong, and his diſcourſe flowing. Much he owed to his ſtudiouſneſs at home, more to his experience abroad, where travel enlarged and *conſolidated* his ſoul. His own worth fitted him for advancement, and his alliance to my lord of Leiceſter raiſed him to it. Merit muſt capacitate a man for intereſt, and intereſt muſt ſet up merit. His perſon and his anceſtry inveſted him knight of the garter, his moderation and wiſdome preſident of Wales. His reſolution and model of government made him lord deputy of Ireland; a people whom he firſt ſtudied, and then ruled; being firſt maſter of their humour, and then of their government. Four things he ſaid would reduce that country: a navy well furniſhed to cut off their correſpondence with Spain; an army well paid, to keep up garriſons; laws well executed, to alter their conſtitutions and tenures; a miniſtry well ſetled, to civilize and inſtruct them: and an unwearied induſtry to go through all. Q. Eliz.

Nine things he did there to eternize his memory.

1. Connaught he divided to ſix ſhires.

2. Captainſhips, ſomething anſwering to knighthood here, *He* aboliſhed.

3. A ſurrendry of all Iriſh holdings *He* contrived, and the Iriſh eſtates *He* ſetled on Engliſh tenures and ſervices.

4. That the ableſt five of each ſept ſhould undertake for all their relations *He* ordered.

5. One

Q. Eliz. 5. One free-ſchool at leaſt in every dioceſs *He* maintained.

6. Two preſidents courts in Munſter and Connaught *He* erected.

7. Their cuſtomes *He* reduced to the *Civility*, and their exchequer to the *Exactneſs* of England.

8. Their purveyance *He* turned to compoſition.

9. Their ſtatutes *He* printed, and a conſtant correſpondence *He* kept; eſpecially with the Engliſh embaſſadour in Spain, and king James in Scotland.

Fitz-williams was mild, Eſſex heady, Perrot ſtout; but this lieutenant or deputy was a ſtayed and reſolved man, that royally *heard ill*, and *did well*; that bore up againſt the clamours of the people with the peace of his conſcience. His intereſt he had devoted to his ſoveraign, and his eſtate to the publick; ſaying as *Cato*, *That he had the leaſt ſhare of himſelf.* * From the Iriſh he took nothing but a liberty to undo themſelves; from court he deſired nothing but ſervice; from Wales he had nothing but a good name It's obſerved of him, that *He had open Vertues for Honour, and private ones for Succeſs*, which he ſaid was the daughter of reſervedneſs: *there being not* (ſaith my lord Verulam) *two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the* honeſt man. The crown was obliged by his ſervices, the nobility engaged to him by alliances, the people enamoured with his *Integrity*, and himſelf ſatisfied with a *good Conſcience.* Much good counſel he gave at court, more

* See Davies of Ireland, and Ware; and Powel of Wales.

more at home in Shropſhire, where his dexterity Q. Eliz.
in compoſing the private quarrels of the country, was as eminent as his prudence in ſetling the affairs of Ireland. He had that majeſty in his countenance that he awed, and affability in his ſpeech that he obliged the country. His counſel would be ſmart and ſolid, his reproof grave and affectionate, his jeſts quick and taking; doing more with a quick droll towards the peace of the country, than others did with longer harangues. Secretary Bourn's ſon kept a gentleman's wife in Shropſhire; when he was weary of her, he cauſed her huſband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him 500 *l.* for reparation. The gentleman went to ſir Henry Sidney to take his advice, telling him, *That his Wife promiſed now a new life, and to ſay the truth five hundred pounds would be very ſeaſonable at that time. By my troth* (ſaid ſir Henry) *take her home, and the money; then whereas other Cuckolds wear their Horns plain, you may wear your's gilt.* His great word after a difference ended, was, *Is not this eaſier than going to London or Ludlow?* when a man fretted against himſelf or other, *My friend*, he would ſay, *take it from me, a weak man complains of others, an unfortunate man of himſelf, but a wiſe man neither of others nor of himſelf.* It was his motto, *I'll never threaten.* To threaten an enemy, is to inſtruct him; a ſuperiour, is to endanger my perſon; an inferiour, is to diſparage my conduct. Old ſervants were the ornament and ſtay of his family, for whom he reſerved a copyhold when aged, a ſervice when hopeful, an education when pregnant. Twice he ſent underhand to France, and once to Scot-

Q. Eliz. Scotland, to feel the pulſe of the one, and to embroyl the other. It's for ſettled kingdomes and for wealthy men to play above-board, while the young ſtate as the young fortune ſhould be leaſt in ſight.

He and ſir Thomas Randolph amuſe the queen of Scots with the hope of the crown of England, and the king of France by a league with his proteſtant ſubjects; to whoſe aſſiſtance ſir Adrian Poynings arrives as field-marſhal, and the earl of Warwick as general.

Sir Nicholas Arnold had diſpoſed Ireland to a ſettlement, when juſticer; and ſir Henry Sidney formerly juſticer and treaſurer, was now to compleat it as deputy, being aſſiſted in Munſter by ſir Warham St. Leiger, and elſewhere by the brave earl of Ormond, having procured his antagoniſt the earl of Deſmond to be called to England in order of a peace and tranquility. Great was his authority *over*, far greater his love *to*, and eſteem *of* the ſoldiers, with whom he did wonders againſt Shane O'neal's front, while Randolph charged his rear until the wild rebel ſubmits, and is executed. When he reſigned his authority and honour to ſir William Drury, he took his farewel of Ireland in theſe words, *When Iſrael departed out of* Egypt, *and the houſe of* Jacob *from a barbarous people.* A ſingular man he was, (ſaith the hiſtorian) and one of the moſt commendable deputies of Ireland, to whoſe wiſdome and fortitude that kingdome cannot but acknowledge much, though it is as impatient of deputies as Sicily was of old of procurators.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Puckering.

HE was born at Flamboroughead in York-ſhire, ſecond ſon to a gentleman that left him an eſtate neither plenteous nor penurious, his breeding was more beneficial to him than his portion, gaining thereby ſuch ſkill in the common law, that he became the queen's ſerjeant, ſpeaker in the houſe of commons, and at laſt lord chancellour of England. How he ſtood in his judgment in the point of church diſcipline, plainly appeareth by his following ſpeech, delivered in the houſe of lords 1588. Lloyd.

You are eſpecially commanded by her majeſty to take heed, that no ear be given, nor time afforded to the weariſome ſollicitations of thoſe that commonly be called Puritans, where with all the late parliaments have been exceedingly importuned, which ſort of men whilſt that (in the giddineſs of their ſpirits) they labour and ſtrive to advance a new eldership, they do nothing elſe but diſturb the good repoſe of the church and commonwealth, which is as well grounded for the body of religion itſelf, and as well guided for the diſcipline, as any realm that confeſſeth the truth. And the ſame thing is already made good to the world by many of the writings of godly and learned men, neither anſwered nor anſwerable by any of theſe new fangled refiners.

And,

Q. Eliz. And, as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jeſuits, do offer more danger, or be more ſpeedily to be repreſſed. For, albeit the Jeſuites do empoyſon the hearts of her majeſty's ſubjects, under a pretext of conſcience to withdraw them from their obedience due to her majeſty yet do they the ſame, but cloſely, and in privy-corners: but theſe men do both teach and publiſh in their printed books, and teach in all their conventicles, ſundry opinions, not onely dangerous to a well-ſettled eſtate, and the policy of the realm, by putting a pike between the clergy and the layty; but alſo much derogatory to her ſacred majeſty and her crown, as well by the diminution of her ancient and lawful revenues, and by denying her highneſs prerogative and ſupremacy, as by offering peril to her majeſties ſafety in her own kingdome. In all which things, (however in other points they pretend to be at war with the Popiſh Jeſuites) yet by this ſeparation of themſelves from the unity of their fellow ſubjects, and by abaſing the ſacred authority and majeſty of their prince, they do both joyn and [illegible] with the Jeſuits in opening the door, and preparing the way to the Spaniſh Invaſion that is threatened againſt the realm.

And thus having according to the weakneſs of my beſt underſtanding delivered her majeſties royal pleaſure and wiſe direction, I reſt there, with humble ſuit of her majeſties moſt gracious pardon in ſupplying of my defects, and recommend you to the author of all good councel.

He

He died anno domini 1596, charactered by mr. Cambden, **Vir Integer*. His estate is since descended, (according to the solemn settlement thereof) the male issue failing, on sir Henry Newton, who according to the condition hath assumed the sirname of Puckering. Q. Eliz.

Sir Thomas Egerton urged against the earl of Arundel methodically what he had done *before*, *in*, and *since*, the Spanish invasion: Sir John Puckering pressed things closely, both from letters and correspondence with Allen and Parsons, that few men had seen; and from the saying of my lord himself, (which fewer had observed) who when Valongers cause about a libel was handled in the star-chamber, had said openly, *He that is throughly popish, the same man cannot but be a Traytor*. A man this was of himself of good repute for his own carriage, but unhappy for that of his servants; who for disposing of his livings corruptly, left themselves an ill name in the church, and him but a dubious one in the state. David is not the only person whom the iniquity of his *heels*, that is, of his *followers*, layeth hold on.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bromley.

SIR Thomas Bromley was born at Bromley in Shropshire of a right ancient family. He was bred in the Inner Temple, and made, before Lloyd.

* An accomplished man.

Q. Eliz. he was forty years of age, general ſollicitor to queen Elizabeth; and afterwards, before he was fifty ſucceeded ſir Nicholas Bacon in the dignity of lord chancellour: yet Bacon was not miſſed while Bromley ſucceeded him; and that loſs which otherwiſe could not have been repaired, now could not be perceived; which office he wiſely and learnedly executed with much diſcretion, poſſeſſing it nine years, and died anno 1587, not being ſixty years old.

My lord Hunſdon firſt employed this gentleman, and my lord Burleigh took firſt notice of him. He had a deep head to dive to the bottome of the abſtruſe caſes of thoſe times, and a happy mean to manage them, with no leſs ſecurity to the eſtate than ſatisfaction to the people. A man very induſtrious in his place, and very obſervant of the court: happy in his potent friends; happy in his able followers; men of great faithfulneſs towards him, and of great integrity and reſpectfulneſs towards any that made addreſſes to him. He never decided the equity of any caſe before he had diſcourſed with the judge that heard it, of the law of it. He never diſpoſed of a living without the biſhop of the dioceſe his conſent where it lay; nor ever engaged he in any ſtate-buſineſs without direction from my lord Burleigh, the earl of Leiceſter, my lord Delaware. Sir Ralph Sadler was to obſerve the policy, Dr. Wilſon the civil law, and Sir Thomas Bromley the Engliſh law, in the queen of Scots anſwer to queen Elizabeth's laſt expoſtulation. The Spaniſh ſouldier never takes wages againſt his king, and ſir Thomas Bromley never took fees againſt the crown. He would have the cauſe opened

opened clearly by his client in the chamber, before ever he would declare it at the bar: he loſt money for not admitting all cauſes promiſcuouſly at firſt, but he gained it at laſt; when never failing in any cauſe, ſaith my author, for five years: during which ſpace, what he wanted in the retayl of advantage, he made up in the groſs of eſteem; being by that time the onely perſon that the people would employ, and one of the three the court would favour; being excellent (becauſe induſtrious) in a leading and an untrodden caſe. Phyſicians, they ſay, are beſt like beer, when ſtale, and lawyers like bread when young: this perſon was eminent in all the periods of his age; each whereof he filled with it's juſt and becoming accompliſhment. In that lord Northumberland's caſe that piſtolled himſelf, none more ſubtle to argue his guilt; in the queen of Scots, none more ſtrict to keep to the law; for when the queen of Scots would explain ſomething in the queen's commiſſion, he anſwered, *We are ſubjects, and not come hither to explain the queens words, but to perform them.* None more diſcreet and grave, prefacing that great buſineſs with theſe words; *The high and mighty queen our ſovereign, that ſhe might [illegible] granting to her God, herſelf, her people, or [illegible] honour, ſent us hither, not ſo much to try, as to clear you; not ſo much to urge her accuſations, as to hear your defence.* And none more ſtedfaſt to his ſoveraign: for when that unfortunate lady proteſted her unaccountableneſs to the Engliſh laws, he replyed, *This proteſtation is vain: for whoſoever, of what place ſoever, offendeth againſt the laws of England in England, was ſubject to the ſame laws, and might be examined and* Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. *tryed.* The ſentence againſt her he declared had three things in it: 1. Juſtice, 2. Security, 3. Neceſſity: but added preſently, *And that wiſely too, it ſhould no ways prejudice king James his title or honour.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Richard Bingham.

Lloyd. SIR Richard Bingham, born in Binghams-Melcolm in Dorſetſhire, of a very ancient family, in his youth travelled moſt parts of the world: he was at the ſiege of St. Quintin in France; the ſacking of Leith in Scotland; ſerved in Candia under the Venetians againſt the Turk; then returned into the Netherlands, being ſtrong and fortunate in all his undertakings. After all this he went into Ireland, and was there preſident of Connaught, and conquered the great and dangerous rebel O'Rork.

A gentleman th[illegible] rather [illegible]ful in many myſteries than thriving in a[illegible]: fancy too high and wild, too deſultory and [illegible]-volable: yet imagination hath often produ[illegible]d realities, and phancy done the work of judgment; as in this gentleman, whoſe daringneſs went for conduct, whoſe ſpirit paſſed for reſolution, whoſe activity had the honour of ſkill, and whoſe ſucceſs the glory of prudence. It's a wonder of parts that Cæſar could write, read, dictate, and diſcourſe at the ſame time; it's a miracle of fancy that this man

man ſhould command a regiment in the Nether- Q. Eliz.
lands, preſide in a province of Ireland, manage a
trade in Ruſſia, carry on a plantation in Ame-
rica, and huſband a mannor in England. But as
the king of Spain is painted with a handful of
ſand running out between his fingers, in refe-
rence to his many but unprofitable dominions;
ſo might this grand projector be deſcribed, who
attempted ſo many things, that he did nothing.
Yet one thing his *quick-ſilver* ſoul was good for,
and that is ſtratagems: now you ſhould have him
ſurprize a town by butter-women, another time
by work-men; anon he would face the enemy,
and draw them with ſucceſs upon a train of gun-
powder he would lay for them, and iron prick-
ſteds he would ſow for them: he would ſteal their
hands and ſeales, buy the very keys of their clo-
ſets; and ſo amuſe them with letters, and diſtract
them with jealouſies, while in the mean time the
vigilant man alarmed them every hour of the
day, and each watch of the night; ſo that he
tamed thoſe wild Iriſh as we do ſome wild beaſts,
by watching.

Obſervations on the Life of Roger Aſcham.

FROM his cradle a royal ſervant, and to Lloyd.
his grave a favourite: a good man, (ſaith
Cambden) and if his ambition had been but as
great as the occaſion was fair, a great one too.

Q. Eliz. Born he was honeſtly in Yorkſhire, and bred handſomely at Cambridge; and both born and bred for that age which was to refine Greek and Latine to a *politeneſs*, and raiſe them to an *eloquence*. He was the univerſity-orator at Cambridge, and at court; there uſing his eloquence, here his intereſt againſt that ſacriledge, that having *dined* on the church, as he writ, came to *ſup* on the univerſities. Thence he was rather removed than advanced, more ſuitably to his merit than his expectation, to be queen Elizabeth's ſchoolmaſter for the latin tongue in her ſiſter's time, and her ſecretary for the ſame in her own.

What he got by his ingenuity, he loſt by his gaming, viz. at dice and cock-fighting, dying rich onely in thoſe two books, his eſtate and his monument, whereof the one is intituled Toxophilus, and the other Scholarcha. He and his dear Smith were the happieſt men in the nation; their large and ingenuous ſouls cl[illegible]ping together in an entire friendſhip, made up of kindneſs and integrity, apart from the little fears, the jealouſies, the ſuſpitions that vex mankinde. What learned letters! what loving expoſtulations! what diſcreet intimations! what faithful adver[illegible]ents! what indifferent-community! what [illegible]on cares and pities! how they loved! h[illegible]ey [illegible] and how they loved again! how [illegible]am! how malleable! how ſweet! What little obſervations upon one another's inadvertencies, neglects or miſcarriages! how the improved their * *Mollia tempora* to the great end of friendſhip, information and advice! How ſecretly they vented their thoughts into each others breaſts, and there looked upon them by

* Leiſure Hours.

by reflection, and the advantage of a ſecond con- Q. Eliz.
ſideration! And it's a happineſs to have another ſelf to ſhew ourſelves to before we appear to the world, that all men wiſh, and the good men onely enjoy. An honeſt man this, that abhorred all artifice and cunning, and hated all concealments and pretenſions, which he had ſagacity enough to diſcover and look through, but a ſpirit too generous to practiſe it; none being more able for, yet none more averſe to that circumlocution and contrivance wherewith ſome men ſhadow their main drift and purpoſe. Speech was made to open man to man, and not to hide him; to promote commerce, and not betray it.

HOW happy is he born and taught
That ſerveth not another's will,
Whoſe armour is his honeſt thought,
And ſimple truth his utmoſt ſkill?

Whoſe paſſions not his maſters are,
Whoſe ſoul is ſtill prepar'd for death;
Untide unto the world by care
Of publick fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that chance doth raiſe,
Nor vice hath ever underſtood;
How deepeſt wounds are given by praiſe,
Nor rules of ſtate, but rules of good.

Who hath his life from rumours freed,
Whoſe conſcience is his ſtrong retreat:
Whoſe ſtate can neither flatterers feed,
Nor ruine make oppreſſors great.

Who

Q. Eliz. *Who God doth late and early pray,*
More of his grace, than gifts to lend;
And entertains the harmles day
With a religious book or friend.

This man is freed from ſervile bands
Of hope to riſe, or fear to fall;
Lord of himſelf, though not of lands;
And having nothing, yet hath all.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Packington.

Lloyd. SIR John Packington was a perſon of no mean family, and of form and feature no way deſpiſeable: for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier; and for the time which he ſtayed there, was very high in the queen's grace: but he came in, and went out, and through diſaſſiduity loſt the advantage of her favour; and death drawing a vail over him, utterly deprived him of recovery. Had he brought leſs to the court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought: for he had a time for it, but he was an ill huſband of opportunity. His handſome features took the moſt, and his neat parts the wiſeſt at court. He could ſmile ladies to his ſervice, and argue ſtates-men to his deſign with equal eaſe. His reaſon was *powerful*, his beauty *more*. Never was a brave ſoul more bravely ſeated: Nature beſtowed great parts on him, education

cation poliſhed him to an admireable frame of prudence and vertue. Queen Elizabeth called him *Her Temperance*, and Leiceſter *His Modeſty*. It is a queſtion to this day, whether his reſolution took the ſouldiers, his prudence the politicians, his complyance the favourites, his complaiſance the courtiers, his piety the clergy, his integrity and condeſcention the people, or his knowledge the learned, *moſt?* This new court-ſtar was a nine days wonder, engaging all eyes until it ſet ſatisfied with its own glory. He came to court, he ſaid, as Solomon did, to ſee its vanity; and retired as he did, to repent it. It was he who ſaid firſt what Biſhop Saunderſon urged afterwards, *That a ſound faith was the beſt divinity, a good conſcience the beſt law, and temperance the beſt phyſick.* Sir John Packington in queen Elizabeth's time was vertuous and modeſt, and ſir John Packington in king Charles's his time loyal and valiant; the one did well, the other ſuffered ſo: Greenham was his favourite, Hammond his; the one had a competent eſtate, and was contented; the other hath a large one, and is noble: this ſuppreſſeth factions in the kingdome, the other compoſed them in the court, and was called by courtiers *Moderation*. Weſtmorland reported his fidelity, and Norfolk his ſtedfaſtneſs: but he died in his bed an honeſt and an happy man, while one of them goes off tainted on the ſcaffold, and the other dies a begger in Flanders. Q. Eliz.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Lives of the Norriſes *and* Knowles.

Lloyd. MY Lord Norris had by his lady an ample iſſue, which the queen highly reſpected: for he had ſix ſons, all martial brave men; of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs. Greater was not the faction between Lieceſter and Suſſex at court, than that between the Knowles and the Norriſes in the country: both families of Oxfordſhire; the one reſolute at Greys, the other valiant at Rycote: the former got great eſtates at home, the latter attained to great honour abroad. The Knowles were beloved by the queen for their own ſakes, the Norriſes for theirs and her own ſake, the Knowles were of the ſame blood with her majeſty, the Norriſes ſpent theirs for her.

1. My lord Norris died at court an honeſt man.
2. Sir Francis at Bulloign a good ſouldier.
3. Sir William at Berwick a brave Governour.
4. Sir Thomas at Munſter a wiſe preſident.
5. Sir Maximilian at Bretaign an expert engineer.
6. Maximilian at Groen a renowned heroe.

As the firſt eminent Norris ſuffered for Anne Bulleyn, the Qu. mother: ſo the firſt eminent Knowles ſuffered with proteſtantiſm her religion. Norris could not riſe, though he deſerved

7. Sir John was a moſt accompliſhed general, no leſs eminent for his ſafe retreats, than for his reſolute onſets. France hath recorded this teſtimony of him, That he brought on all his men ſo warily, as one that could bring them off: and England this, That he brought them off ſo reſolutely, as one that durſt bring them on. His fortune often overthrew his enemy, and his wiſdome oftner ſaved his friends: His conduct was famous, and his diſcipline *exact*: His actions are preſidents, and his orders laws of war to this day. He was bred under Caſtilion, and out-did him. Ireland was always *poſſeſſed*, but never conquered till Norris came, who could lie on the coldeſt earth, ſwim the deepeſt rivers, force the ſtraighteſt paſſes, find out the moſt ſecret corners, and tread the ſofteſt bog; who could endure any thing but an affront, and a ſuperiour: the firſt whereof upon a repulſe at court, ſaddened his heart, as the ſecond, upon another deputies being ſent over him, broke it. Unſucceſsful he was with Don Antonio in Spain, becauſe he underſtood not the

ved his honour, Q. Eliz. becauſe of Leiceſter that favoured his brother Knowles, and Eſſex that envied him; neither could Knowles advance becauſe of Suſſex that feared and Cecil that ſuſpected him. The Knowles were deſerving, but modeſt; favoured, but humble; powerful, but quiet; rather firm at court, than high; allied to the queen and faithful to the crown. Queen Elizabeth advanced ſir Francis to the vicechamberlainſhip, treaſurerſhip of the houſhold, captainſhip of the guard, and the order of the garter, becauſe ſhe ſaid, *he was an honeſt man*; and king James, and king Charles raiſed

Q. Eliz. country. In the Low-countries he gained experience firſt, and then victory: in Ireland he had Connaught for his grave, Mount-Norris his monument, and the letter of queen Elizabeth to his mother his epitaph.

raiſed his ſon ſir William to the earldome of Banbury, becauſe he was a ſerviceable man. Honeſtly faithful was that family to their miſtreſs that was, and providently ſo were they to their maſter that ſhould be. Handſome men they were when attending at court, and valiant when called to the camp.

Nor-

Norriſes.

1. The Norriſes are employed in embaſſies of war, wherein they were active.

2. My Lord Norris his reſolution was very becoming in the demand of Calice.

3. The Iriſh conſpirator Thomond opened a plot againſt the government in Ireland to the agent Norris.

Knowles.

1. The Knowles are abroad in religious negotiations, for which they had been confeſſors, ſir Francis in France, and ſir Henry in Germany.

2. Francis Knowles his meekneſs was ſuitable to his perſwaſions for religion:

3. And the Scotch ſchiſmatick Humes diſcovered a deſigne againſt the church in England to the embaſſadour Knowles.

In 88,

My

In 88, Q. Eliz.

My lord Hunſdon guarded the queen's perſon with 34000 foot, and 2000 horſe; the earl of Leiceſter commanding the midland army of 22000 foot, and 1000 horſe: ſir Roger Williams and ſir Richard Bingham were in the head of 20000 in the Thames mouth, and ſir John Norris and ſir Francis Knowles, with other aſſiſtants, ſat in the council of war to overlook all. Sir John adviſed three things: 1. The guarding of the havens. 2. The training of the militia, and preparing of them to be at an hour's warning upon a ſignal given, which was then the firing of a beacon. 3. That if the enemy did land, the country ſhould be laid waſte before him, the train-bands alarming him day and night: ſir Francis added, 1, What ſhires and what numbers ſhould aſſiſt each coaſt, how the men ſhould be armed, how commanded, and in what order they ſhould fight. 2. That the papiſts ſhould not be maſſacred, as ſome would have it, but ſecured. 3. That the deputy of Ireland ſhould be inſtructed. 4. That the king of Scots ſhould be engaged. 5. That agents ſhould be ſent to the Netherlands and to France. And, 6. That the queen ſhould encourage the people with her own preſence. Sir John Norris died when he ſaw beyond others expectation and his own merit, the lord Burge made lord-deputy, and himſelf but preſident of Munſter; his great mind ſinking under one affront from his ſovereign, which had born up againſt all the aſſaults of her enemies; leaving this honour behinde him,

Q. Eliz. that he laid the beſt grounds of military practice in England. But *who can ſtand before Envy.*

A further Character of Sir John Norris, from Queen Elizabeth's Letter to his Mother.

My own Crow.

HARM not your ſelf for boothleſs help, but ſhew a good example to comfort your dolorous yoak-fellow. Although we have deferred long to repreſent to you our grieved thoughts, becauſe we liked full ill to yield to you the firſt reflexion of miſ-fortune, whom we have always rather ſought to cheriſh and comfort; yet knowing now, that neceſſity muſt bring it to your ear, and nature conſequently muſt move both grief and paſſion in your heart; we reſolved no longer to ſmother, neither our care for your ſorrow, or the ſympathy of our grief for your loſs. Wherein if it be true, that ſociety in ſorrow works diminution, we do aſſure you by this true meſſenger of our minde, that nature can have ſtirred no more dolorous affection in you as a mother for a dear ſon, than grateſulneſs and memory of his ſervice paſt hath wrought in us his ſoveraign apprehenſion of our miſs for ſo worthy a ſervant. But now that nature's common work is done, and he that was born to die hath paid his tribute, let that chriſtian diſcretion ſtay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which hath inſtructed you both for example and knowledge,

ledge, that nothing in this kinde hath happened Q. Eliz.
but by God's divine providence. And let theſe
lines from your loving gracious ſoveraign ſerve
to aſſure you, that there ſhall ever appear the
lively character of our eſtimation of him that
was, in our gracious care of you and yours that
are left, in valuing rightly all their faithful and
honeſt endeavours. More at this time we will
not write of this unpleaſant ſubject, but have
diſpatched this gentleman to viſit both your lord
and you, and to condole with you in the true
ſenſe of your love; and to pray that the world
may ſee what time cureth in a weak minde, that
diſcretion and moderation helpeth in you in this
accident, where there is ſo juſt cauſe to demon-
ſtrate true patience and moderation.

Your gracious and loving
Soveraign,
E. R.

Obſervations on the Life of Secretary Davidſon.

THAT meteor of the court! raiſed onely in Lloyd.
an exceſs of heat and vapours, to fall in a
clearer day: for having good parts to act, an
eaſie nature to comply, and a good diſpoſition to
be impoſed on, he was raiſed to play others parts
rather then his own, in thoſe intricate and dark
times, when fools were put to execute what wiſe
men adviſed; and the world ſaw but the plain
ſide

Q. Eliz. ſide of the great watch of ſtate, within which all the ſprings were incloſed and hid.

That he was but of a private capacity, and ſo ſafely to be raiſed, as one that would neither outſhine nor outdare his patron, (Machiavil hath a rule, (*Diſc. l. 3. c. 2.*) That it is a very great part of wiſdome ſometimes to ſeem a fool, and ſo lie out of the reach of *Obſervation* and *Jealouſie*) appears from his negotiations, that were either payment of money in the Netherlands, a merchant's buſineſs; or taking ſecurity of the merchants in France, a ſcrivener's part; or pacifying the tumult in Holland, the taſk of a burgomaſter. Beale the clerk of the council and he were joyned in commiſſion, always to deal with the Scots; the one the auſtereſt, and the other the ſweeteſt man living. When the firſt frighted thoſe rude people with expoſtulations, the ſecond got into them with inſinuations. A hard and a ſoft, a hammer and a cuſhion, breaks a flint: fear and love rule the world. This grand caſe, as that great hiſtorian layeth it, is briefly this; many proteſtants thought themſelves in danger while the queen of Scots was alive, many papiſts thought themſelves undone while ſhe was impriſoned; theſe laſt preſs her to ſome dangerous undertakings; of the firſt, ſome were for ſecuring, others for tranſporting, and a third party for poyſoning her: to which purpoſe many overtures were made, though yet none durſt undertake it that had either eſtate or honour to loſe; being ſo wiſe as not to underſtand what was meant by the ſtrange letters that were ſent, elſe they might have faln into this gentleman's fortune; who unadviſedly venturing between the honour

and

and ſafety of his ſoveraign, was ground to no- Q. Eliz.
thing betwixt the fear of one party, and the
ſhame of the other.

But this mild, but ſtout becauſe honeſt man, was not ſo weak in the perpetration of this fault, as he was wiſe in his apology for it, ſaying, he would not confeſs a guilt, and betray his integrity; nor yet ſtand upon a juſtification, and forget his duty. He would neither conteſt with his ſoveraign, nor diſparage himſelf; but clear himſelf as an honeſt man, and ſubmit as a thankful ſervant, and a good ſubject.

DAZLED thus with heighth of place,
Whilſt our hopes our wits beguile,
No man marks the narrow ſpace
Twixt a priſon and a ſmile.

Then, ſince fortunes favours fade,
You, that in her arms do ſleep,
Learn to ſwim, and not to wade;
For, the hearts of Kings are deep.

But, if greatneſs be ſo blind
As to truſt in towers of air,
Let it be with goodneſs lin'd,
That at leaſt the fall be fair.

Then, though darkened, you ſhall ſay,
When friends fail, and princes frown,
Vertue in the rougheſt way,
But proves at night a bed of down.

Obſervations on the Lives of Sir Humphry Gilbert, *and Sir* Jeffery Fenton.

Lloyd. SHarp and lively-ſpirited men, ſkilful in war, and prudent in peace: of a reſtleſs and a publick ſpirit, well ſkilled in the trade of England, better in the wealth of America; in the north-part whereof, which we call New-found Land, whither they had ſayled a little before with five ſhips, having ſold their patrimony in hope to plant a Colony there, they undid themſelves: for after they had by the voice of a common cryer proclaimed that country to belong to the Engliſh juriſdiction, and had aſſigned land to each of their company, they were diſtreſſed by ſhipwracks, and want of neceſſary proviſion, and conſtrained to give over their enterprize; learning too late, and teaching others, that it is matter of greater difficulty to tranſport colonies into far countries upon private mens wealth, than they and others in a credulous and ſanguine fit imagine: and this, *Quod ſis eſſe velis, nihilque malis.* You ſhould wiſh to be what you are and nothing more.

Obſervations on the Life of Doctor Walter Haddon.

WALTER HADDON, was born of a knightly family in Buckinghamſhire, bred at Eaton, afterwards fellow in king's colledge in Cambridge, where he proceeded doctor of law, and was the king's profeſſor in that faculty, choſen vice-chancellour of the Univerſity 1550, ſoon after he was made preſident of Magdalen colledge in Oxford, which place he waved in the reign of queen Mary, and ſheltered himſelf in obſcurity. Queen Elizabeth made him one of the maſters of her requeſts, and employed him in ſeveral embaſſies beyond the ſeas. Her majeſty being demanded whether ſhe preferred him or Buchanan for learning, wittily and warily returned, Lloyd.

[*] *Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini poſtpono.*

S. Memoriæ.

Gualtero Haddono Equeſtri loco nato, juris Conſulto, Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæq; Eloquentiæ ſui temporis facilè principi, ſapientia & ſanctitate vitæ, in id erecto ut Reginæ Eli-

 zabethæ

* I prefer Buchanan to all, I place Haddon ſecond to none.

Q. Eliz. *zabethæ à ſupplicum libellis Magiſter eſſet, d[illegible] returq; majoribus, niſi fato immaturius ce[illegible]ret: Interim in omni gradu viro longe Eminentiſſimo; Conjugi ſuo optimo merentiſſimoq; Anna Suttonâ, uxor ejus ſecunda flens mœrens deſiderii ſui ſignum poſuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum.* 1572. *Ætatis* 56.

Sacred to the Memory

Of Walter Haddon born of a knightly family, a celebrated lawyer, orator, and poet. In greek and roman eloquence he far excelled all his cotemporaries, as well as in wiſdom and ſanctity of life; inſomuch that he was made maſter of requeſts by queen Elizabeth, and deſigned for higher employments, had not death prevented their being conferred upon him. Ann Sutton, his ſecond wife, as a proof of her affection erected this monument to a man moſt eminently diſtinguiſh'd, and a huſband moſt deſervedly beloved. He died in 1572, aged 56.

This his fair monument is extant in the wall, at the upper end of the chancel of Chriſt-church in London, where ſo many ancient inſcriptions have been barbarouſly defaced. He and doctor Wotton ſetled trade between us and the Netherlands, and removed the mart to Embden: and both were famous for their reſervedneſs in the caſe of ſucceſſion, which they kept locked in their own breaſts; ſo always reſolved to d[illegible] (notwithſtanding Leiceſter's ſollicitations of them to a declaration for the queen of Scots now his miſtreſs, and hereafter in the queen of England's deſigne to be his wife) unleſs (as they alledged) their

t[illegible] *Miſtreſs* commanded their opinion; who Q. Eliz
ce[illegible]ly never heard any more unwillingly than
the controverſie about the title of ſucceſſion:
and both as famous for their diſſwaſon againſt
the making of the Netherlands a free-ſtate;
urging that of Machiavel, *That people accuſtomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, are like beaſts let looſe; and have much ado to maintain either their Government or their Liberty.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir William Ruſſel.

HIS very name brought Tyrone upon his Lloyd.
knees to him, and Iniſkillyn to a ſurrendry. He was for detaining Tyrone, notwithſtanding his letters of protection: the council was for diſmiſſing him, either out of favour to him, or out of their reverence to their former promiſe; as much to the danger of Ireland, as the diſpleaſure of the queen. Pretending an hunting-match, he had almoſt taken Feagh Mac Hugh, or ſhut him up; and under the diſguize of a progreſs, he ſhut up all the paſſages and avenues of Tyrone. Agiges the Cretan king would ſay, *That he that would govern many, muſt fight with many:* our deputy found that great honour had its great difficulties; yet was he ſo conſtant and reſolute, that with Marcellus he would ſay, *That as there are many things a good go-*

Q. Eliz. *vernour ought not to attempt; ſo ought he not to deſiſt, or give over an Enterprize once undertaken and taken in hand.* Therefore his character is: *One* daring in his perſon, cloſe to his purpoſe, firm to his dependencies, of a deep and large ſoul; who looked upon the chargeable war in Ireland as an equal remedy againſt a worſe in England, to the letting of blood in one part, againſt the effuſion of it in another: and adviſed the beſtowing of church-lands among the nobility of both perſwaſions in Ireland as in England, who would then hold their religion with their land, *in Capite*, and ſtick to the queen as the great ſupport of both, againſt all pretenders, whom then moſt would vigorouſly oppoſe, and all would fairly leave.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Thomas Roper.

Lloyd. SIR Thomas Roper, *ſervant to Queen* Elizabeth, *was born in Friday-ſtreet in London; whoſe Grandfather was a younger ſon of the houſe of Heanour in Derbyſhire. He going over into the Low Countries, became Page to Sir John Norrice, and was Captain of a Foot-company at ſixteen years of Age. What afterwards his Martial Performances were, will appear by the following lines tranſcribed out of the Originall of his Patent.*

Whereas Thomas Roper knight, one of our privy-councellours of the kingdome of Ireland, long

[illegible]ſince hath been known unto us *famous*, with Q. Eliz.
the ſplendour of his warlike vertue; as who by
the many atchivements valiantly performed by
him in the late war of this kingdome, hath
gained the eminent repute both of a ſtout ſoul-
dier, and a diſcreet commander; whoſe valour
chiefly appeared in his retreat near le Boyle in
our province of Connaught, where with very
few horſe he undauntedly charged great troops
of the horſe of the enemy, who in a hoſtile
manner forraged the very bowels of the king-
dome; and by his wiſdome made ſuch a ſingular
retreat, that he not onely ſaved himſelf and his
men, but alſo delivered the whole army from
great danger, and ſlew very many of his ene-
mies. Who alſo when our province of Ulſter
was all on fire with war, being one out of many,
was for the tryed reſolution of his mind, choſen
by the right honourable the earl of Eſſex, then
general of the army, to undertake a duel with
Makal, and declined not to expoſe himſelf to
the appointed duel. And alſo when the afore-
ſaid Thomas Roper in the late war in the king-
dome of France at Breſt, by expoſing himſelf to
the greateſt perils, and ſhedding of his own
blood, demonſtrated his courage to be uncon-
querable. Who alſo in the voyage to Portugal,
behaved himſelf valiantly and honourably: as
alſo at Bergen in the Netherlands, when it was
beſieged by the Spaniards, approved himſelf a
young man of invincible valour in the defence
thereof. Who alſo in the day wherein Kinſale
was aſſaulted, was placed in the firſt rank, nea-
reſt all unto the town; and with no leſs ſuc-

Q. Eliz. ceſs than valour, to the great ſafety of the whole army, beat back, and put to flight the Spaniards, who in the ſame day made ſeveral ſallies out of the town.

Know therefore, that we, in intuition of the premiſes, have appointed the aforeſaid Thomas Roper knight, &c,

Then followeth his patent, wherein king Charles the firſt, in the third of his reign, created him baron of Bauntree, and viſcount Baltinglaſs in Ireland.

He was a principal means to break the hearts of the Iriſh rebels: for whereas formerly the Engliſh were loaded with their own cloaths, ſo ſo that their ſlipping into bogs did make them, and the clopping of their breeches did keep them priſoners therein; he firſt, being then a commander, put himſelf into Iriſh trouzes, and was imitated firſt by all his officers, then ſouldiers; ſo that thus habited, they made the more effectual execution on their enemies. He died at Ropers Reſt, anno Dom. 164.—and was buried with Anne his wife, (daughter to ſir Henry Harrington) in St. John's Church in Dublin.

Obſer.

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Henry Umpton.

SIR Henry Umpton was born at Wadley in Barkſhire. He was ſon to ſir Edward Umpton, by Anne (the relict of John Dudley earl of Warwick, and) the eldeſt daughter of Edward Seymour duke of Somerſet. He was employed by queen Elizabeth embaſſador into France; where he ſo behaved himſelf right ſtoutly in her behalf, as may appear by this particular. In the moneth of March, anno 1592, being ſenſible of ſome injury offered by the duke of Guiſe to the queen of England, he ſent him this enſuing challenge. Lloyd.

For as much as lately in the lodging of my lord Du Mayne, and in publick elſewhere, impudently, indiſcreetly, and over-boldly you ſpoke badly of my ſoveraign, whoſe ſacred perſon here in this country I repreſent: to maintain both by word and weapon her honour, (which never was called in queſtion among people of honeſty and vertue) I ſay, you have wickedly lyed in ſpeaking ſo baſely of my ſoveraign; and you ſhall do nothing elſe but lye, whenſoever you ſhall dare to tax her honour: moreover then her ſacred perſon (being one of the moſt compleet and vertuous princeſs that lives in this world) ought not to be ev[illegible] ſpoken of the tongue of ſuch a perfi-

Q. Eliz. perfidious traytor to her law and country as you are. And hereupon I do defy you, and challenge your perſon to mine, with ſuch manner of arms as you ſhall like or chuſe, be it either on horſe-back or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of perſon between us, I being iſſued of as great a race and noble houſe (every way) as your ſelf. So aſſigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words, and the lye which I gave you, and which you ſhould not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you conſent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cauſe you to be generally held one of the arranteſt cowards, and moſt ſlanderous ſlave that lives in all France. I expect your anſwer.

I find not what anſwer was returned. This ſir Henry dying in the French king's camp before Lofear, had his corpſe brought over to London, and carried in a coach to Wadley, thence to Farington, where he was buried in the church on Tueſday the eighth of July, 1596. He had allowed him a baron's hearſe, becauſe he died ambaſſadour Leiger.

Gibler

Obſervations on the Life of the Earl of Eſſex.

IT is to be obſerved, that the earl of Eſſex had his introduction to favour by the lord of Leiceſter, who had married his mother; a tye of affinity. This young lord was a moſt goodly perſon, in whom was a kind of urbanity, or innate courteſie, which both won the queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new-adopted ſon of her favour. He was noted even of thoſe that truly loved and honoured him, for too bold an ingroſſer both of fame and favour. Having upon occaſion left the court for a while, he gave a fair opportunity for his foes to undermine him; ſo that he lived a mixture between proſperity and adverſity: once very great in her favour, which was afterwards loſt, for want of conſideration and cunningneſs. He was raiſed by Leiceſter to poize Rawley, as Rawley was by Suſſex to check Leiceſter. Indeed pity firſt opened the door to him for his father's ſake that died in Ireland, alliance led him in for his father-in-law's ſake * that reigned at court. His own royal blood welcomed him for his mother Knowles, that was kin to her majeſty; his good parts, his tall and comely perſonage, his ſweet diſpoſition, and incomparable nature; his noble anceſtors, his fair, though impaired for-

Lloyd.

* See ſir H. Wotton's Obſervations.

Q. Eliz. fortune, brought him firſt to favour, and then to dalliance.

He was a maſter-piece of court and camp; his beauty enamelling his valour, and his valour being a foile to his beauty; both drawing thoſe noble reſpects of love and honour; both *awing*, both *endearing*. It was his nobleneſs that he diſtruſted none, it was his weakneſs that he truſted all; whereby he ſuffered more from thoſe that ſhould have been his friends, than from them who were his enemies. Good man! his ruine was, that he meaſured other breaſts by his own; and that he thought mankinde was as innocent as his own perſon. His merit gained applauſe, and his paraſites ſwelled it to popularity; and the laſt enjealouſied that majeſty which the firſt had obliged. His youthful and raſh ſallies abroad, gave too much opportunity to his enemies whiſpers, and too viſible occaſions for her majeſties ſuſpicion, that he was either weak and ſo not to be favoured; or dangerous, and ſo to be ſuppreſſed. Abſence makes princes forget thoſe they love, and miſtruſt thoſe they fear. Exact correſpondence is the ſinew of private and publick friendſhip. So great a maſter he thought himſelf of his ſoveraign's affection, that he muſt needs be maſter of himſelf, and ſteal to France without leave, where, ſaid the queen, he might have been knocked on the head as Sidney was. His journey to France was not more raſh, than his voyage to Cales was renowned; yet the one gave the envious arguments of his diſobedience, and the other of his diſloyalty; his enemies ſuggeſting, that in the firſt he contemned his miſtreſs, and that in the ſecond he had a deſign upon her.

His

His action at Cales was applauded; but his triumphs were too ſolemn, his panegyricks too high, his train too princely, his honours and knighthoods too cheap, his popularity too much affected, and his ear more open to hear what he *had done*, than what *he was*. If his manhood had been as ſlow as his * youth, he had been moderate; if his life had anſwered his † education, he had been patient: if his eye had been as open upon his enemies, as his ear to his friends, he had been cautious: if he had been as happy in his conſtant converſe, as he was obliging in his firſt addreſs, he had been a prince: if he had either a leſs fortune, or a greater ſoul; either leſs of the dove, or more of the ſerpent, he had bid fair for a crown; or at leaſt had ſaved his head. The people wiſhed him well, but they are unconſtant; the queen loved him, but ſhe is jealous: his followers are numerous, but giddy; affectionate, but ill adviſed: his enemies are few, but watchful on all occaſions: for is he pleaſed? they ſwell it to pride and vain imaginations: is he croſſed? they improve it to diſcontent and ſedition. An army muſt be ſent againſt Tyrone; he is not willing that any other ſhould lead it, and unwilling to lead it himſelf; yet over he goeth fatally: for the ſervice was knotty, and his diſpoſition ſmooth; his power was large, but that with as large a minde intangled him: his army was great, but that meeting with a great deſigne, precipitated him: his title to the crown was defended, but that loſt him his head. He had exact advices from friends,

Q. Eliz.

* [redacted] one of them whoſe natures diſcloſe but ſlowly.
† [redacted]. Whitgift.

Q. Eliz. friends, eſpecially from ſir Francis Bacon; and great directions from his prince, but he followed his own: when he ſhould have fought the main body of his enemy, he ſkirmiſheth their forlorns; when he ſhould have returned with a noble conqueſt, he ſtole home after a ſuſpitious treaty: the royal checks that ſhould have inſtructed, incenſed him; and what was deſigned a chaſtiſement, he turns to a ruine. Beloved he is of the people, but that aggravateth his raſhneſs; flattered by courtiers, but that ſwelleth his humour: followed he is by the diſcontented of church and ſtate, but that increaſeth the jealouſie; ill adviſed he is by heady Cuffe and Meyriche, and that haſteneth his fall: humbled he is by the advancement of his rivals, and that enrageth him: eaſie and open was his nature; cloſe, active, and vigilant his enemies.

Valiant he was, but therefore feared; noble and obliging to all hopeful men, and therefore watched. A great party he had, but they had no head: a minion he was at once to prince and people, but he had no balance. A man of great performances, but no deſigne: one that had too much religion and fidelity to be a traytor, too good a nature to be ſafe, too much preſumption on affections when abſent to be ſteady. He preſumed too much on his own ſtrength, or his friends wiſdome, when he came out of Ireland; he was too much wrought upon by his enemies when he came to London, which had too much to loſe to hazard a rebellion; and went not to Wales, where his father's and his own goodneſs had engaged 1000 lives and fortunes. In a word,

His

Leiceſter's reſervedneſs, Bacon's ſtayedneſs, ſir Robert Cecil's humility, ſir Fulke Grevil's moQ. Eliz.
deſty, added to his parts and preſence, his valour and liberality, his good nature and large heart: his favour with his prince, and popularity with the ſubjects, had raiſed him to a capacity with the great earl of Warwick, to ſet the Engliſh crown on what head he pleaſed; although it was the univerſal opinion, he had no other ambition than to ſet it on king James his head, which it belonged to, with his own hands: his deſigne was well principled, but not well moulded; he had many hands, but no able heads: his correſpondence was univerſal, but not firm and exact; his nature was active, but impatient; his intereſt was popular, not througly underſtood; he neither comprehending the inclinations of the kingdome in groſs in parliament, nor in the retayl in its particular diviſions. The catholicks might have been his, but he was too good-natured to cajole them: the ſtate was well inclined, but effeminate after ſo long proſperity. Hope of pardon ſent him to his grave with more ſilence than was expected from him, and the peoples regret; and with more ſorrow than became a queen or her kingdomes ſafety. His party was too needy, and their counſels too violent. Ambition and good nature are incompatible: others counſels are never ſo faithful as our own. When we hear others advice, let our reaſon judge of it; when great be wary; when ſucceſsful, reſerved; when riſing, ſtayed; eſpecially in that age when men were poyſoned with oyl, and unſtone with honey: when active, modeſt; when checked, yielding; when dandled, diſtruſtful;

when

Q. Eliz. when flattered, fearful; when great, not abſolute, (as my lord would have been in point of favour againſt my lord Mountjoy, and valour againſt my lord Norris.) Serve not your followers, but employ them: let others ſervice adminiſter to your deſigne, not your power to theirs: let great actions encourage greater; and let honour be your merit, and not your expectation. Some have been buſie in the enquiry of what reaſon the virgin-queen had for her kindneſs to Leiceſter and this man, (if there be a reaſon in any, much leſs in royal love, ſave the affection its ſelf that bears it) true, he had vertue and ſuffering enough at his firſt arrival to engage the kindneſs and pity of a worſe princeſs: yet ſome then diſcourſed of a conjunction of their ſtars that made way for that of their minds. Certainly (ſaith Cambden) the inclination of princes to ſome perſons, and their diſfavour towards others, may ſeem fatal, and guided by higher powers.

A Paralel between the Earl of Eſſex *and the Duke of* Buckingham, *by* H. W.

Lloyd. THE beginning of the earl of Eſſex I muſt attribute wholly, or in great part to my lord of Leiceſter; but yet as an introducer or ſupporter, not as a teacher: for as I go along, it will eaſily appear, that he neither lived nor [illegible] by his diſci-

diſcipline. Always certain it is, that he drew him firſt into the fatal circle from a kinde of reſolved privateneſs at his houſe at Lampſie, in South-wales; where, after the academical life, he had taken ſuch a taſte of the rural, (as I have heard him ſay) and not upon any flaſhes or fumes of melancholy, or traverſes of diſcontent, but in a ſerene and quiet mood, that he could well have bent his mind to a retired courſe. About which time, the ſaid earl of Leiceſter bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the queen's favour: which was diverſly interpreted by ſuch as thought that great artizan of court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himſelf the weight of time, and being almoſt tired (if there be a ſatiety in power) with that aſſiduous attendance, and inſenſive circumſpection which a long-indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own eaſe, to beſtow handſomely upon another ſome part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy. Q. Eliz.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the ſame ends brought in, or let in ſir Walter Rawleigh, and having found him ſuch an apprentice as knew well enough how to ſet up for himſelf, he now meant to allie him with this young earl, who had yet taken no ſtrong impreſſions. For though the ſaid ſir Walter Raleigh was a little before this, whereof I now ſpeak by occaſion, much fallen from his former ſplendour in court: yet he ſtill continued in ſome luſtre of a favoured man, like billows that ſink by degrees, even when the wind is down that firſt ſtirred them.

Q. Eliz. Thus runs the diſcourſe of that time at pleaſure; yet I am not ignorant that there was ſome good while a very ſtiff averſation in my lord of Eſſex from applying himſelf to the earl of Leiceſter, for what ſecret conceit I know not; but howſoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother; and to the court he came under his lord.

The duke of Buckingham had another kinde of Germination; and ſurely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amongſt the * *Sponte Naſcentes:* for he ſprung without any help by a kind of congenial compoſure (as we may term it) to the likeneſs of our late ſoveraign and maſter of ever bleſſed memory: who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelf, and moulded him (as it were) platonically to his own *Idea*; delighting firſt in the choice of the materials, becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great architects uſe to do, in the workmanſhip of his regal hand: nor ſtaying here, after he had hardned and poliſhed him about ten years in the ſchool of obſervance, (for ſo a court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himſelf, (for he was a king could peruſe men as well as books) he made him the aſſociate of his heir apparent, together with the new lord Cottington (as an adjunct of ſingular experience and truſt) in forraign travels, and in a buſineſs of love, and of no equal hazard (if the tenderneſs of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world muſt confeſs) to kindle affection ever between the diſtanteſt conditions; ſo as by the various

* Spontaneous ones.

various and inward converſation abroad, (beſides that before and after at home) with the moſt conſtant and beſt-natured prince, * *Bona ſi ſua norint*, as ever England enjoyed, this duke becomes now ſecondly ſeized of favour, as it were by deſcent, (though the condition of that eſtate be no more than a tenancy at will, or at moſt for the life of the firſt lord) and rarely tranſmitted: which I have briefly ſet down, without looking beyond the vail of the temple, I mean into the ſecret of high inclinations; ſince even ſatyrical poets, (who are otherwiſe of ſo licentious fancy) are in this point modeſt enough to confeſs their ignorance. Q. Eliz.

† *Neſcio quid certe eſt quod me tibi temperet Aſtrum.*

And theſe were both their ſpringings and imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I obſerve likewiſe not onely much difference between them, but in the earl not a little from himſelf. Firſt, all his hopes of advancement had like to be ſtrangled almoſt in the very cradle, by throwing himſelf into the Portugal voyage without the queen's conſent, or ſo much as her knowledge; whereby he left his friends and dependents near ſix months in deſperate ſuſpenſe what would become of him. And to ſpeak truth, not without good reaſon: for firſt, they might well conſider, that he was himſelf not well plumed in favour for ſuch a flight: beſides, that now

* If their own happineſs they knew.

† Some ſecret influence binds me to thee.

Q. Eliz. now he wanted a lord of Leiceſter at home (for he was dead the year before) to ſmooth his abſence, and to quench the practices at court. But above all, it lay open to every man's diſcourſe, that though the bare offence to his ſoveraign and miſtreſs was too great an adventure, yet much more when ſhe might (as in this caſe) have fairly diſcharged her diſpleaſure upon her laws. Notwithſtanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excurſion was eſteemed but a ſally of youth. Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: whether ſuch intermiſſions as theſe do ſometimes foment affection; or that having committed a fault, he became the more obſequious and plyant to redeem it; or that ſhe had not received into her royal breaſt any ſhadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when ſir Fulke Grevil, (late lord Brooke) a man in appearance intrinſecal with him, or at the leaſt admitted to his melancholy hours, either belike eſpying ſome wearineſs in the queen; or perhaps, with little change of the word, through more in the dangerſome marks towards him, and working upon the preſent matter, (as ſhe was dexterous and cloſe) had almoſt ſuper-induced into favour the earl of Southampton; which yet being timely diſcovered, my lord of Eſſex choſe to evaporate his thoughts in a ſonnet (being his common way) to be ſung before the queen, (as it was) by one Hales, in whoſe voyce ſhe took ſome pleaſure; whereof the complot me thinks had as much of the hermit as of the poet:

And

And if thou ſhouldſt by Her be now forſaken, Q. Eliz.
She made thy Heart too ſtrong for to be ſhaken.

As if he had been caſting one eye back at the leaſt to his former retiredneſs. But all this likewiſe quickly vaniſhed, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet ſtill, I know not how, like a gathering of clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew tart, as being now in the lees of favour, it brake forth into certain ſuddain receſſes; ſometimes from the court to Wanſteed, otherwhiles unto Greenwich, often to his own chamber, doors ſhut, viſits forbidden; and which was worſe, divers conteſtations (between) with the queen her ſelf, (all preambles of ruine) wherewith tho' now and then he did wring out of her majeſty ſome petty contentments, (as a man would preſs ſowre grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the counſel of a wiſe, and then a prophetical friend, who told him, that ſuch courſes as thoſe were like hot waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often uſed, will ſpoil the ſtomach.

On the duke's part, we have no ſuch abrupt ſtrains and precipees as theſe, but a fair, fluent and uniform courſe under both kings: and ſurely, as there was in his natural conſtitution a marvellous equality, whereof I ſhall ſpeak more afterwards; ſo there was an image of it in his fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient compariſon) as ſmoothly as a numerous verſe, till it meet with certain rubs in *Parliament*, whereof I am induced by the very ſubject which I handle, to ſay ſomewhat, ſo far as ſhall concern the difference between their times.

Q. Eliz. WHEN my lord of Eſſex ſtood in favour, the parliaments were calm: nay, I find it a true obſervation, that there was no impeachment of any nobleman by the commons from the reign of king Henry the ſixth, until the eighteenth of king James, nor any intervenient precedent of that nature; not that ſomething or other could be wanting to be ſaid, while men are men: for not to go higher, we are taught eaſily ſo much by the very ballads and libels of Leiceſterian time.

But above the aforeſaid year, many young ones being choſen into the houſe of commons more than had been uſual in great councils, (who though of the weakeſt wings, are the higheſt flyers) there aroſe a certain unfortunate and unfruitful ſpirit in ſome places; not ſowing but picking at every ſtone in the field, rather than tending to the general harveſt. And thus far the conſideration of the nature of the time hath tranſported me, and the occaſion of the ſubject.

Now on the other ſide, I muſt with the like liberty obſerve two weighty and watchful ſollicitudes, (as I may call them) which kept the earl in extream and continual caution, like a bow ſtill bent, whereof the dukes thoughts were abſolutely free.

Firſt, he was to wreſtle with the queen declining, or rather with her very ſetting age, (as we may term it) which, beſides other reſpects, is commonly even of itſelf the more umbratious and apprehenſive, as for the moſt part all horizons are charged with certain vapours towards their evening.

The other was a matter of more circumſtance, ſtanding thus, viz.

All princes, eſpecially thoſe whom God hath not bleſſed with natural iſſue, are, (by wiſdome of ſtate) ſomewhat ſhie of their ſucceſſors; and to ſpeak with due reverence, there may be reaſonably ſuppoſed in queen's regnant, a little proportion of tenderneſs that way more than in kings. Now there were in court two names of *power*, and almoſt of *affection*, the Eſſexian and the Cecilian, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the preſent, and yet both looking to the future; and therefore both holding correſpondency with ſome of the principals in Scotland, and had received advertiſements and inſtructions, either from them, or immediately from the king as induciat heir of this Imperial crown. Q. Eliz.

But leſt they might detect one another, this was myſteriouſly carried by ſeveral inſtruments and conducts, and on the Eſſexian ſide, in truth, with infinite hazard: for ſir Robert Cecil who (as ſecretary of ſtate) did diſpoſe the publick addreſſes, had prompter and ſafer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable paſſage on either part, as the ſtory following ſhall declare.

The earl of Eſſex had accommodated maſter Anthony Bacon in partition of his houſe, and had aſſigned him a noble entertainment. This was gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head; and through his hand run all the intelligence with Scotland: who being of a provident nature, (contrary to his brother the lord viſcount St. Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous ſecret, would many times cunningly let fall ſome words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the Cecilians, (to whom he was near of alliance,

Q. Eliz. and in blood alſo) and who had made (as he was not unwilling ſhould be believed) ſome great proffers to win him away: which once or twice he preſſed ſo far, and with ſuch tokens and ſignes of apparent diſcontent to my lord Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton, (who was of the party, and ſtood himſelf in much umbrage with the queen) that he flees preſently to my lord of Eſſex, (with whom he was commonly **primæ admiſſionis)* by his bed-ſide in the morning, and tells him, that unleſs that gentleman were preſently ſatisfied with ſome round ſum, all would be vented.

This took the earl, at that time ill provided, (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were low) whereupon he was fain ſuddenly to give him Eſſex-houſe; which the good old lady Walſingham did afterwards diſ-engage out of her own ſtore with 2500 pound; and before, he had diſtilled 1500 pound at another time by the ſame ſkill. So as we rate this one ſecret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in preſent money, beſides at the leaſt 1000 pound of annual penſion to a private and bed rid gentleman: what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own buſineſs?

There was another accident of the ſame nature on the Cecilian ſide, much more pleaſant, but leſs chargeable, for it coſt nothing but wit. The queen having for a good while not heard any thing from Scotland, and being thirſty of news, it fell out that her majeſty going to take the air towards the heath, (the court being then at Greenwich) and maſter ſecretary Cecil then attending her, a poſt came croſſing by, and blew

* Firſt admitted.

his horn: the queen out of curioſity aſked him from whence the diſpatch came; and being anſwered from Scotland; ſhe ſtops her coach, and calleth for the packet. The ſecretary, though he knew there were ſome letters in it from his correſpondents, which to diſcover, were as ſo many ſerpents; yet made more ſhew of diligence than of doubt to obey; and aſks ſome that ſtood by (forſooth in great haſte) for a knife to cut up the packet, (for otherwiſe he might perhaps awaked a little apprehenſion) but in the mean time approaching with the packet in his hand, at a pretty diſtance from the queen, he telleth her it looked and ſmelt ill-favouredly coming out of a filthy budget, and that it ſhould be fit firſt to open and air it, becauſe he knew ſhe was averſe from ill ſcents. Q. Eliz.

And ſo being diſmiſſed home, he got leiſure by this ſeaſonable ſhift, to ſever what he would not have ſeen.

Theſe two accidents preciſely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpoſe, to ſhew how the earl ſtood in certain perplexities, wherewith the dukes days were not diſtracted. And this hath been the hiſtorical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the riſing and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now conſider their ſeveral endowments both of *perſon* and *mind*, and then a little of their *actions* and *Ends*.

The earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the ſtronger, and of the abler body: but the duke had the neater limbs, and free delivery; he was alſo

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Q. Eliz. the uprighter, and of the more comely motions; for the earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards than downwards: and he was ſo far from being a good dancer, that he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the duke exceeded in the daintineſs of his leg and foot; and the earl in the incomparable fairneſs and fine ſhape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praiſe) he took from his father; for the general air, the earl had the cloſer and more reſerved countenance, being by nature ſomewhat more cogitative, and (which was ſtrange) never more than at meals, when others are leaſt: inſomuch, as he was wont to make his obſervation of himſelf, that to ſolve any knotty buſineſs which cumbred his mind, his ableſt hours were when he had checked his firſt appetite with two or three morſels, after which he ſate uſually for a good while ſilent: yet he would play well and willingly at ſome games of greateſt attention: which ſhewed, that when he liſted he could licenſe his thoughts.

The duke on the other ſide, even in the midſt of ſo many diverſions, had continually a very pleaſant and vacant face, (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a ſingular aſſurance in his temper. And yet I muſt here give him a rarer elogie, which the maligneſt eye cannot deny him, That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatneſs more familiarly, nor whoſe looks were leſs tainted with his felicity; wherein I inſiſt the rather, becauſe this in my judgement was one of his greateſt vertues and victories of himſelf.

But to proceed: in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the duke had a fine and unaffected

fected politeneſs, and upon occaſion coſtly, as in his legations. Q. Eliz.

The earl as he grew more and more attentive to buſineſs and matter, ſo leſs and leſs curious of cloathing: inſomuch, as I do remember, thoſe about him had a conceit, that poſſibly ſometimes when he went up to the queen, he might ſcant know what he had on: for this was his manner: his chamber being commonly ſtived with friends or ſuiters of one kinde or other; when he gave his legs, arms, and breaſt to his ordinary ſervants to button and dreſs him with little heed, his head and face to his barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to petitioners, and many times all at once; then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloak over his ſhoulders, he would make a ſtep into his cloſet, and after a ſhort prayer, he was gone: only in his baths he was ſomewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both inordinate in their appetites, eſpecially the earl, who was by nature of ſo different a taſte, that I muſt tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would ſtop in the midſt of any phyſical potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the reſt; but I am weary of ſuch ſlight animadverſions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The earl was of good erudition, having been placed at ſtudy in Cambridge very young by the lord Burleigh his guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the overſight of doctor Whitgift, then maſter of Trinity-colledge, and after archbiſhop of Canterbury; a man (by the way) ſurely of a moſt reverend and ſacred memory,

Q. Eliz mory, and, (as I may well ſay) even of the primitive temper, when the church in lowlineſs of temper did flouriſh in high examples, which I have inſerted as a due recordation of his vertues having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About ſixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of maſter of arts, and kept his publick acts. And here I muſt not ſmother what I have received by conſtant information, that his own father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, ſome ſay through the affection to his ſecond ſon Walter Devereux, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it ſeems, this earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open ſlowly; nature ſometimes delighting to play an aftergame as well as fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in courſe.

The duke was illiterate, yet had learned at court, firſt to ſift and queſtion well, and to ſupply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the beſt inſtruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a ſweet and attractive manner, to ſuck what might be for the publick or his own proper uſe; ſo as the leſs he was favoured by the muſes, he was the more by the graces.

To conſider them in their pure naturals, I conceive the earls intellectual faculties to have been his ſtronger part, and in the duke his practical.

Yet all know, that he likewiſe at the firſt was much under the expectation of his after proof; ſuch a ſudden influence therein had the ſoveraign aſpect. For their abilities of diſcourſe or pen, the earl was a very acute and ſound ſpeaker when-

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he would intend it; and for his writings, they are beyond example, eſpecially in his familiar letters and things of delight at court, when he would admit his ſerious habits, as may be yet ſeen in his impreſſes and inventions of entertainment; and above all, in his darling piece of love, and ſelf-love; his ſtile was an elegant perſpicuity, rich of phraſe, but ſeldome any bold metaphors, and ſo far from tumor, that it rather wanted a little elevation. Q. Eliz.

The duke's delivery of his mind I conceive not to be ſo ſharpe as ſolid and grave, not ſolid and deep as pertinent, and appoſite to the times and occaſions.

The earl I account the more liberal, and the duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my lord of Eſſex in all his life-time did build or adorne any houſe, the queen perchance ſpending his time, and himſelf his meanes, or otherwiſe inclining to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud houſe-keepers, than houſe-raiſers. They were both great cherishers of ſcholars and divines; but it ſeems, the earl had obtained of himſelf one ſingular point, that he could depart his affection between two extreams: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards dr. Whitgift, both before and after he was archbiſhop; yet on the other ſide, he did not a little love and tender maſter Cartwright, though I think truly, with large diſtinction between the perſons and the cauſes, howſoever he was taxed with other ends in reſpecting that party.

They were both fair ſpoken gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; in this the earl hath been moſt falſly blemiſhed in our vulgar ſtory: only againſt one man he had

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Q. Eliz. forſworn all patience, namely Henry lord Cobham, and would call him (**per excellentiam*) the ſycophant (as if it had been an emblem of his name) even to the queen herſelf though of no ſmall inſinuation with her; and one lady likewiſe (that I may civilly ſpare to nominate, for her ſex ſake) whom he uſed to terme the ſpyder of the court: yet generally in the ſenſitive part of their natures the earl was the worſe philoſopher, being a great reſenter and a weak diſſembler of the leaſt diſgrace: and herein likewiſe, as in the reſt, no good pupill to my lord of Leiceſter, who was wont to put all his paſſions in his pocket.

In the growth of their fortunes, the duke was a little the ſwifter, and much the greater; for from a younger brother's mean eſtate he roſe to the higheſt degree whereof a ſubject was capable either in title or truſt. Therein I muſt confeſs much more conſortable to Charles Brandon under Henry the eight, who was equal to him in both.

For matter of donative and addition of ſubſtance, I do not believe that the duke did much exceed him, all conſidered, under both kings.

For that which the earl of Eſſex had received from her majeſty, beſides the fees of his offices and the diſpoſition of great ſummes of money in her armies, was (about the time of his arraignment, when faults uſe to be aggravated with precedent benefits) valued at three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in pure gift for his one life uſe, to the earl of Dorſet then lord treaſurer, who was a wiſe man, and a ſtrict computiſt, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy

* By way of eminence.

thy of note in the margent of both times, that the one was proſecuted with ſilence, and the other with murmur; ſo undoing a meaſure is popular judgment. Q. Eliz.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in eſtabliſhing of both their fortunes and fames.

For the firſt, the duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the court divers of his confident ſervants, and into high places very ſound and grave perſonages. Whereas, except a penſioner or two, we can ſcant name any one man advanced of the earl's breeding, but ſir Thomas Smith, having been his ſecretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble houſe) than to the clerk of the councell, and regiſter of the parliament: not that the earl meant to ſtand alone like a ſubſtantive (for he was not ſo ill a *Grammarian* in court;) but the truth is, in this point the Cecilians kept him back, as very well knowing, that upon every little abſence or diſaſſiduity, he ſhould be ſubject to take cold at his back.

For the other, in managing of their fames, I note between them a direct contrary wiſdome; for the earl proceeded by way of apology, which he wrote and diſperſed with his own hands at large, though till his going to Ireland they were but airy objections. But of the duke this I know, that one having offered for his eaſe to do him that kinde of ſervice; he refuſed it with a pretty kinde of thankful ſcorn, ſaying, that he would truſt his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his errours; and that he

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Q. Eliz. ſaw no fruit of apologies, but the multiplying of diſcourſe: which ſurely was a well ſettled maxime. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expreſſion of Tacitus,**Neque injuria, neque beneficio*, ſaving that he ſhewed me an ordinary good countenance: and if I were, yet I would diſtinguiſh between gratitude and truth. I muſt bear him this teſtimony, that in a commiſſion laid upon me by ſoveraign command to examine a lady about a certain filthy accuſation grounded upon nothing but a few ſingle names taken up by a footman in a kennel, and ſtraight baptized, a liſt of ſuch as the duke had appointed to be poiſoned at home, himſelf being then in Spain; I found it to be the moſt malicious and frantick ſurmize, and the moſt contrary to his nature that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the world, howſoever countenanced by a libellous pamphlet of a fugitive phyſician even in print; and yet of this would not the duke ſuffer any anſwer to be made on his behalf, ſo conſtant he was to his own principles.

In their military ſervices the characters of the earls imployments were theſe, viz.

His forwardeſt was that of Portugal, before mentioned.

The ſaddeſt, that of Roan, where he loſt his brave brother.

His fortunateſt peice I eſteem the taking of Cadiz Malez, and no leſs modeſt; for there he wrote with his own hands a cenſure of his omiſſions.

His

* Neither by any inſtance of wrong, nor peculiar advantage.

His jealouſeſt imployment was to the relief of Calais beſieged by the cardinal arch-duke: about which, there paſſed then between the queen and the French king much art. Q. Eliz.

His voyage to the Azores was the beſt, for the diſcovery of the Spaniſh weakneſs, and otherwiſe almoſt a ſaving voiage.

His blackeſt was that to Ireland, ordained to be the ſepulchre of his father, and the gulph of own his fortunes.

But the firſt in 88, at Tilbury-camp, was in my judgement the very poyſon of all that followed; for there whileſt the queen ſtood in ſome doubt of a Spaniſh invaſion (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our waves) ſhe made him in field commander of the cavalry (as he was before in court) and much graced him openly in view of the ſoldiers and people, even above my lord of Leiceſter: the truth is, from thenceforth he fell too faſt.

The duke's employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the action of the Iſle of Reez, of which I muſt note ſomewhat for the honour of our country, and of his majeſties times, and of them that periſhed and ſurvived, and to redeem it generally from miſ-underſtanding. Therefore after enquiry amongſt the wiſeſt and moſt indifferent men, of that action, I dare pronounce, that all circumſtances pondered: a tumultuary banding on our part, with one thouſand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horſe, with neer two thouſand foot, and watching their beſt time of advantage, none of their foot diſcovered by us before, nor ſo much as ſuſpected, and onely ſome of their horſe deſcried ſtragling,

Q. Eliz. but not in any bulk or body: their cavalry not a troop of Gaſcoignors mounted in haſte, but the greater part gentlemen of family, and of pickt reſolution, and ſuch as charged home both in front and on both flanks into the very ſea; about *ſix ſcore* of their two hundred horſe ſtrewed upon the ſand, and none of them but one killed with a great ſhot; and after this their foot likewiſe coming on to charge, till not liking the buſineſs they fell to flinging of ſtones, and ſo walked away:

I ſay, theſe things conſidered and laid together, we have great reaſon to repute it a great impreſſion upon an unknown place, and a noble argument that upon occaſion we have not loſt our ancient vigour. Only I could wiſh that the duke who then in the animating of the ſouldiers ſhewed them very eminent aſſurance of his valour, had afterwards remembered that rule of Apelles, * *Manum de Tabula.* But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publique ends, and too confident in the proſperity of beginnings, as ſomewhere Polybius, *that great critique* of war, obſerveth of young leaders whom fortune hath not before deceived. In this their military care and diſpenſation of reward and puniſhment, there was very few remarkable occaſions under the duke, ſaving his continuall vigilancie and voluntary hazard of his perſon, and kindneſſes to ſouldiers, both from his own table and purſe; for there could be few diſorders within an iſland where the troops had no ſcope to diſband, and the inferior commanders were ſtill in ſight.

In the earl we have two examples of his ſeverity, the one in the iſland voyage, where he threw

* Know when to leave off.

threw a ſouldier with his own hands, out of a ſhip; the other in Ireland, where he decimated certain troops that ran away, renewing a peice of the Roman diſcipline. Q. Eliz.

On the other ſide, we have many of his lenitie, and one of his facility, when he did connive at the bold treſpaſs of ſir Walter Raleigh, who before his arrivall at Fyall, had banded there againſt his preciſe commandment; at which time he let fall a noble word, being preſſed by one (whoſe name I need not remember) that at the leaſt he would put him upon a martial court: that I would do (ſaid he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the laſt act, which was written in the book of neceſſity.

At the earl's end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for writers to gleane after judges) yet, I ſpent ſome curioſity to ſearch what it might be that could precipitate him into ſuch a prodigious cataſtrophe; and I muſt, according to my profeſſed freedome, deliver a circumſtance or two of ſome weight in the truth of that ſtory, which was neither diſcovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confeſſions.

There was amongſt his neareſt attendants one Henry Cuffe, a man of ſecret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate councels ſmothered under the habit of a ſcholar, and ſlubbered over with a certain rude and clowniſh faſhion, that had the ſemblance of integrity.

This perſon not above five or ſix weeks before my lord's fatall irruption in the city, was by the

Q. Eliz. earl's ſpecial command ſuddainly diſcharged from all further attendance, or acceſs unto him, out of an inward diſpleaſure then taken againſt his ſharp and importune infuſions, and out of a glimmering overſight, that he would prove the very inſtrument of his ruine.

I muſt adde hereunto, that about the ſame time my lord had received from the counteſs of Warwick (a lady powerful in the court, and indeed a vertuous uſer of her power) the beſt advice that I think was ever given from either ſex; that when he was free from reſtraint, he ſhould cloſely take any out-lodging at Greenwich, and ſometimes when the queen went abroad in a good humour, (whereof ſhe would give him notice) he ſhould come forth, and humble himſelf before her in the field.

This counſel ſunk much into him, and for ſome days he reſolved it: but in the mean time, through the interceſſion of the earl of Southampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was reſtored to my lord's ear, and ſo working advantage upon his diſgraces, and upon the vain foundation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good men, ſpun out the final diſtruction of his maſter and himſelf, and almoſt of his reſtorer, if his pardon had not been won by inches.

True it is, that the earl in Weſtminſter-hall did in generall diſcloſe the evil perſwaſions of this man; but the particulars which I have related by this diſmiſſion and reſtitution, he buried in his own breaſt for ſome reaſons apparent enough; indeed (as I conjecture) not to exaſperate the caſe of my lord of Southampton, tho he might therewith a little peradventure have molli-

mollified his own. The whole and true report I Q. Eliz.
had by infallible meanes from the perſon himſelf that both brought the advice from the aforeſaid excellent lady, and carried the diſcharge to Cuffe, who in a private chamber was ſtrucken, therewith into a ſound almoſt dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from ſome high ſteeple; ſuch turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy.

Touching the duke's ſuddain period, how others have repreſented it unto their fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I muſt confeſs from my ſoul that I never recall it to minde without a deep and double aſtoniſhment of my diſcourſe and reaſon.

Firſt, of the very horrour and attrocity of the fact in a chriſtian court, under ſo moderate a government; but much more at the impudencie of the pretence, whereby a deſperate diſcontented aſſaſſinate would after the perpetration have honeſted a meere private revenge (as by precedent circumſtances is evident enough) with I know not what publick reſpects, and would fain have given it a parliamentary cover howſoever. Thus theſe two great peers were diſ-roabed of their glory, the one by judgement, the other by violence, which was the ſmall diſtinction.

Now after this ſhort contemplation of their diverſities, (for much more might have been ſpoken, but that I was fitter for rhapſody than commentary) I am laſtly deſirous to take a ſummary view of their conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient parallels.

Q. Eliz. They both ſlept long in the arms of fortune: they were both of ancient blood, and of foreign extraction: they were both of ſtrait and goodly ſtature, and of able and active bodies: they were both induſtrious and aſſiduous, and attentive to their ends: they were both early privie-counſellours, and employed at home in the ſecreteſt and weightieſt affairs in court and ſtate: they were both likewiſe commanders abroad in chief, as well by ſea as by land, both maſters of the horſe at home, both choſen chancellours of the ſame Univerſity, namely, Cambridge: they were both indubitable ſtrong and high-minded men; yet of ſweet and accoſtable nature, almoſt equally delighting in the preſs and affluence of dependants and ſuiters, which are always the burres, and ſometimes the briars of favourites. They were both married to very vertuous ladies, and ſole heirs, and left iſſue of either ſex; and both their wives converted to contrary religions. They were both in themſelves rare and excellent examples of temperance and ſobriety, but neither of them of continency.

Laſtly, after they had been both ſubject (as well greatneſs and ſplendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions: they both concluded their earthly felicity in unnatural ends, and with no great diſtance of time in the ſpace either of life or favour.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Jeffery Fenton.

SIR Jeffery Fenton, born in Nottingham-ſhire, was for twenty ſeven years privy-counſellour in Ireland, to queen Elizabeth and king James. He tranſlated the hiſtory of *Francis Guicciardine* out of Italian into Engliſh, and dedicated it to queen Elizabeth. He deceaſed at Dublin, October 19, 1608, and lyeth buried in St. Patrick's church, under the ſame tomb with his father-in law doctor Robert Weſton, ſometimes chancellour of Ireland. It is an happy age when great men do what wiſe men may write; an happier, when wiſe men write what great men have done; the happieſt of all, when the ſame men act and write, being hiſtories, and compoſing them too. For theſe men having a clearer, and more thorow-inſight to the great ſubjects of annals than men of more diſtant capacities and fortunes, are the only perſons that have given the world the right notion of tranſactions; when men of lower and more pedantique ſpirits trouble it only with more heavy romances. Give me the actions of a prince tranſcribed by thoſe hiſtorians who could be inſtruments. The beſt hiſtory in the world is Cæſar's commentaries, written by him, and tranſlated by Edmonds, with the ſame ſpirit that they were Lloyd.

Q. Eliz. acted. Xenophon and Thucydides, whoſe pens copied their narratives from their ſwords. Tacitus, Malvezzi, Machiavel, Comines, Moor, Bacon, Herbert and * Burleigh (who writ the affairs of former ages with the ſame judgement that they managed thoſe of their own.) In a word, an hiſtory written by ſuch a courtier as Guicciardine, and tranſlated by ſuch a counſellour as Fenton. Diamond only can cut diamond, the great onely expreſs the great: a perſon that hath the ſight of the intelligence, negotiations, conferences, and inward tranſactions of ſtates, is one from whom I expect a more exact chronicle of this age than yet this nation hath been happy in.

Obſervations on the Life of Doctor Fletcher.

Lloyd. GILES FLETCHER (brother to Richard Fletcher biſhop of London) was born in Kent, as I am credibly † informed. He was bred firſt in Eaton, then in king's colledge in Cambridge, where he became doctor of law. A moſt excellent poet, (a quality hereditary to his two ſons, Giles and Phineas) was ſent commiſſioner into Scotland, Germany, and the

* His Eliz. to which Cambden gave but the language and the tranſcript.

† From the mouth of Mr. Ramſey, miniſter of Roughham in Norfolk, who married the widow of Mr. Giles Fletcher, ſon to this Doctor.

the Low-countries, for queen Elizabeth, and Q. Eliz.
her embaſſador into Ruſſia, ſecretary to the city
of London, and maſter of the court of requeſts.
His Ruſſian embaſſie to ſettle the Engliſh *Mer-*
chandiſe was *his Maſter-piece, to* Theodor, Jua-
nowich, *Duke of* Muſcovia. *He came thither in*
a dangerous juncture of time, viz. in the end of
the year 1588.

Firſt, ſome Forreiners (I will not ſay they were
the Hollanders) envying the free Trade of the
Engliſh, had done them bad offices.

Secondly, a falſe report was generally believed
that the Spaniſh Armado had worſted the Engliſh
Fleet, and the Duke of Moſcovia, (who meaſured
his favour unto the Engliſh, by the poſſibility he
apprehended of their returning it) grew very ſpa-
ring of his ſmiles, not to ſay free of his frowns on
our Merchants reſiding there. However, our
doctor demeaned himſelf in his embaſſie with ſuch
cautiouſneſs, that he not onely eſcaped the duke's
fury, but alſo procured many priviledges for our
Engliſh merchants, exemplified in * *Mr. Hack-*
luit. Returning home, and being ſafely arrived at
London, he ſent for his intimate friend Mr. Way-
land, prebendary of St. Paul's, and ſenior fellow
of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge (tutor to my fa-
ther, from whoſe mouth I received this report)
with whom he heartily expreſſed his thankfulneſs to
God for his ſafe return from ſo great a danger;
for the poets cannot fancy Ulyſſes *more glad to be*
come out of the den Polyphemus, *than he was to*
be rid out of the power of ſuch a barbarous prince,
who counting himſelf by a proud and voluntary
miſtake emperour of all nations, cared not for the
law

* In his volume of Engliſh Navigations, p. 374.

Q. Eliz. *law of all nations, and who was ſo habited in blood, that had he cut off this embaſſador's head, he and his friends might have ſought their own amends; but the queſtion is, where he would have found it? he afterwards ſet forth a book called* The Ruſſian Common-wealth, *expreſſing the government, or tyranny rather thereof; wherein (ſaith my * author) are many things moſt obſervable: but queen Elizabeth indulging the reputation of the duke of Muſcovy as a confederate prince, permitted not the publick printing of that, which ſuch who have private copies, know to ſet the valuation thereon.*

Obſervations on the Life of the Lord Mountjoy.

Lloyd. THE lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility; as he came from Oxford, he took the Inner Temple in his way to court, whither no ſooner come, but (without aſking) had a pretty ſtrange kind of admiſſion. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a ſweet face, a moſt neat compoſure, and tall in his perſon; ſo that he coming to ſee the faſhion of the court, was ſpied out by the queen, and out of the affection ſhe bare to the very ſight of his face, received him into favour: upon the firſt

* Camb. in his Eliz. Anno 1583; when he was Agent in Muſcovia, as afterward Ambaſſador.

firſt obſervation whereof, ſhe profeſſed that ſhe Q. Eliz.
[illegible] there was in him ſome noble blood. He was one that wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions; and being a good ſcholar, yet were they accompanied with the retractives of baſhfulneſs, and a natural modeſty. There was in him an inclination to arms, with an humour of travelling: and as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the theory of a ſouldier, ſo was he ſtrongly invited by his genius to the acquaintance of the practick of the war, which were the cauſes of his excurſions; for he had a company in the Low-Country; from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the queen, but ſomewhat reſtleſs: in honourable thoughts he expoſed himſelf again and again, and would preſs the queen with the pretences of viſiting his company ſo often, that at length he had a flat denyal, and yet he ſtole over with ſir John Norris, into the action of Britain; but at laſt the queen began to take his deceſſions for contempts, and confined his reſidence to the court, and her own preſence. She was ſo confident in her own princely judgement and opinion that ſhe had conceived of his worth and conduct, that ſhe would have this noble gentleman, and none other, to finiſh, and bring the Iriſh war to a propitious end; which (not deceiving her good conceit of him) he nobly atchieved, though with much pains and carefulneſs.

Among the greateſt things laid to queen Elizabeth her charge (ſaith the Cenſurer) *as caſt behinde the door of neglect, was the conduct of the affairs of Ireland; a place lying all her halcyon days*

Q. Eliz. *days under ſo great a contempt, that wiſe Walſingham thought it no treaſon to wiſh it* buried in the Sea, *conſidering the charge it brought: yet ſhe kept the* Pale *in good order, not ſuffering the* Spaniſh *party to grow more potent in the North, than was convenient to conſume his forces, and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being impoſſible for her without being grievous to her people (a rock ſhe chiefly ſtudied to avoid) at one time to maintain ſo dreadful a navy at Sea, and foment the Dutch and French, to whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was called by a louder neceſſity, than to render a nation quite deſolate; none being willing during her life to exchange the preſent government of a natural princeſs, for the leſs happy tyranny of a vice-roy; of which the moſt did ſtudy more their reſpective grandeur by extending the war, than the eaſe of the inhabitants, and leſſening the queen's expence, till the noble lord Mountjoy, was employed, who had no other deſign than the concluſion of the work; which he had not yet brought about, but that the Spaniards found themſelves betrayed through the covetouſneſs and cowardize of the natives, that for ſmall ſums would ſell not only ſuch forreigners as came to help them, but their neareſt relations. Nor was it poſſible to reduce them to civility, but by curing the bogs and faſtneſſes, and building caſtles and garriſons, which he did; nor eaſie to ſubdue them without that ſeverity to the prieſts, which he uſed; whom he found exerciſing ſuch an implicit power over the peoples conſciences, that they could not reſolve themſelves of their Soveraign's right or religion.——This for his Iriſh government: touching his domeſtick relation; when queen Eliza-*

beth's

beth's favour to Eſſex (like a bone by breaches Q. Eliz.
made more firm) ſwelled him to ſuch a degree of
[illegible]s frowned on them as enemies that ac-
knowledged not his friendſhip, or depended not on
his favour, to balance him and my lord Cecil, this
gallant gentleman, and of honourable extraction,
was placed in her eye; many hoping by his appli-
cation to draw from her heart the affection they
thought mortal to them and their deſign, the whole
reſult concluding in a duel that raiſed both in their
miſtriſs affections, as champions for her beauty now,
and like to be ſo for her government.

There are ſome letters of this noble perſons to be
ſeen, I am told, of a plain and equal ſtyle becom-
ing a ſtateſ-man and buſineſs; not ſeldome yet ad-
mitting of ſeveral conſtructions, if of any interpre-
tation at all, where the buſineſs related to a thing
whoſe conſequence could not eaſily be ſeen into.

Obſervations on the Life of Edward *Earl of* Rutland.

A Noble-man, eminent for thoſe ſeveral en- Lloyd.
dowments which ſingle, do exact an en-
tire man. For a perſon of his quality to be an
accurate critick in the learned tongues, and then
as a rhetorician to make all their graces ſerve his
eloquence; to have traverſed ancient, and yet
be no ſtranger in modern writers: to be well
verſed in the more crabbed philoſophy, and ac-
curate in politer claſſick authors; to be learned

in

Q. Eliz. in hiſtory and policy, and maſter in the law of the land, and of nations. For ſuch a man to have devoured ſo much and yet digeſted it [illegible] in nature, and in diligence, which hath but few examples: yet his ſpeculative knowledge *that gave light to the moſt dark and difficult propoſals, became eclipſed by the more dazling luſtre of his more practick and experimental prudence; which together with his alliance to my lord Burleigh, had voted him to Bromley's place*, but that they both ſickned in one day, and died in one week; he leaving theſe four adviſoes behind him, 1. Be *always* employed. 2. *Look* to the iſſue. 3. Be *furniſhed with a friend.* And 4. *Reflect* upon thy ſelf.——*Vita eſt in ſe Reflexio.*

Obſervations on the Life of Sir John Smith.

Lloyd. HIS relation to Edward the ſixth his couſin german, was enough to countenance his parts, and his parts ripe and large enough to advance his perſon.—His gravity could be no where better employed than in Spain, nor his reſervedneſs any where more ſuitable than in Italy. In Spain his carriage had a great impreſſion upon the king, and his ſpirit upon the whole court. For Gaſper Quiroga arch-biſhop of Toledo, inveighing bitterly againſt the queen's perſon, and more againſt her *Title (Defender of the Faith)* was anſwered by him with that wiſdom and prudence,

* Life is a reflexion upon it ſelf.

ſence, that his majeſty of Spain checked the Q. Eliz.
arch-biſhop as an *Impertinado*, as he called him, [illegible]
and [illegible] ſir John Smith, as a man who had made *himſelf* dreadful, and his miſtreſs therefore much more to that court—(They who leaſt conſider hazard in *the doing of their duty*, *fare beſt ſtill.*) The ſureſt way to ſafety, is to *have one intereſt eſpouſed ſo firmly*, *as never to be changed.* Nor did he this out of a vainer bottome than an obſervation he made of his miſtreſſes reſolution, already in deſpair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than thoſe of power: a ſignal teſtimony of the commanding worth this gentleman had, which extorted a reverence to his perſon in that very place where his buſineſs contracted an odium. An excellent perſon he was, in whom honeſty of manners ſtrived with nobility of birth, and merit with honour; of a compoſed and ſtayed temper, that would ſay under all temptations to diſquiet, Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: if it be, why do we not manage it to our content? if not, why are we diſcontented, eſpecially ſince every thing hath two handles? if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate. Upon which conſideration, all private concernments he paſſed over with a perfect indifference: the world and its appendages hanging ſo looſe about him, that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or ſate uneaſily.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

Lloyd. SIR Walter Rawleigh was well deſcended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginning. He was ſo toſſed by fortune to and fro, that he was ſometimes high, ſometimes low, ſometimes in a middle condition. He was brought up in the univerſity and Innes of court, but he ſtayed not long in a place: and being the youngeſt brother, and the houſe diminiſhed in patrimony, he foreſaw his own deſtiny, that he was firſt to roul (through want and diſability) before he could come to a repoſe. He firſt expoſed himſelf to the land-ſervice of Ireland (a militia) which then did not yield him food and raiment; nor had he patience to ſtay there (though ſhortly after he came thither again) under the command of the lord Grey. As for his native parts, and thoſe of his own acquiring, he had in the outward man a good preſence, in a handſome and well-compacted perſon, a ſtrong natural wit, and a better judgement, with a bold and plauſible tongue, whereby he could ſet out his parts to the beſt advantage; and to theſe he had the adjuncts of ſome general learning, which by diligence he enforced to a great augmentation, and perfection; for he was an indefatigable reader, whether by ſea or land, and none of the leaſt obſervers both of men and the times. Falling from that ſudden grace, which he by his parts had gained of the queen, he

he went aſide for a while, but at his return he came in with the greater ſtrength, and ſo continued to her laſt, great in her favour, and captain of the guard. His prudence *underſtood* his capacity, and his induſtry *ſerved* it; raiſing his fortune as high as his parts, and his parts as high as his mind. His motto was, *either dye* nobly, or *live* honourably. Never man proſpered, but the reſolute, and he that hath awaked an eaſie, ſoft, ſleepy, or indifferent temper, to the noble adventure of being Cæſar, or being none: a diſpoſition meeting a large and capacious ſoul in this gentleman, taught him the exact diſcipline of war in Ireland and the Low-countries, the great ſkill of a ſea-man between Europe and America, and a patience as ſevere in enduring hardſhip, as his neceſſity in requiring it. Five hours he ſlept, four he read, two he diſcourſed; allowing the reſt to his buſineſs and his neceſſities: no ſouldier fared or lay harder, none ventured further: what is not *extraordinary* (he would ſay) is *nothing*: it being the end of all arts and ſciences to direct men by certain rules unto *the moſt compendious way in their knowledge and practice: thoſe things of which in ourſelves we have onely ſome imperfect confuſed notions, being herein fully and clearly repreſented to our view from the diſcoveries that other men have made, after much ſtudy and long experience; and there is nothing of greater conſequence for the advancement of learning, than to finde out thoſe particular advantages which there are for the ſhorteſt way of knowing and teaching things in every profeſſion.* There was not an expert ſouldier or ſea-man, but he conſulted; not a printed or manuſcript, diſcourſe of navigation or

Q. Eliz.

Q. Eliz. war but he peruſed; nor were there exacter rules or principles for both ſervices, than he drew. ſo contemplative he was, that you would think he was not active: ſo active, that you would ſay he was not prudent—A great ſouldier, and yet an excellent courtier: an accompliſhed gallant, and yet a bookiſh man; a man that ſeemed born for any thing he undertook; his wit brought him to court, and kept him there; for there happening a difference between him and my lord Grey, under whom he ſerved in Ireland, which was heard before the council-table, Rawleigh ſtated his caſe with that clearneſs, urged his arguments with that evidence and reaſon, offered his apologies with thoſe *pertinent* and *taking* allegations, and his replies with that ſmartneſs; expreſſed himſelf with that fluency and eloquence, and managed his carriage and countenance with that diſcretion, that he was firſt the ſtates-mens obſervation, next her majeſties favourite, and at laſt her oracle; as who was equally happy in his comprehenſive diſcourſes to her of her private intereſt in every part of her government, and in his effectuall ſpeeches to her ſubjects in parliament touching theirs in every part of their duty.

Two things he obſerved in his miſtreſs.

1. That ſhe was penurious in her largeſſes.
2. That ſhe was choice in her favourites.

Whence he concluded; that there was no good to be done unleſs he got an eſtate firſt, and then a reputation.

To the firſt, we owe his ſea-voyages, when his whole fortune was often put up in one ſhip; and to the laſt, his land ſervices, when all his expectation depended on one action. Two rivals

he

he obſerved, Eſſex for action, Cecil for counſel: Q. Eliz.
the one he went under abroad, to outvy him;
the other he complyed with at home, to under-
mine him: but wanting ſtrength, though not
parts to be both their corrivals, he periſhed, be-
cauſe not thought to own humility enough to be
their ſervants. Cecil indeed was his friend, be-
cauſe Eſſex was his enemy: but he taught him,
*That it was more ſafe at court to have many ene-
mies of equall power, that one falſe and ambitious
friend, that hath attained to the abſoluteneſs of
command*: But this he was often heard to ſay, he
did not apprehend, before his genius had dictated
it to him, as he came in a boat from the execu-
tion of the earl of Eſſex, which was done at
the Tower.—Yet two ways I find him getting
up. 1. By uncouth projects in parliament be-
yond expectation; which (though they might
oblige his miſtreſs) together with an opinion of his
irreligion, loſt him with the people. 2. By ex-
traordinary undertakings in warre beyond his
commiſſion; which (though performed to out-
do his generals) had forfeited his head to their ſe-
verity and juſtice, had not his wit complyed with
their eaſineſs and goodneſs. It's a queſtion among
the *curioſoes*, whether his often abſence from
court, was his *prudence*, or his *weakneſs*, it being
a *quodlibet*, whether that diſtance was a greater
allay to his *enemies malice*, or to his *ſovereign's
love*; while his forreign actions were not ſo cloſe
at her ear to his advantage, as his adverſaries ap-
plications to his diſparagement.

Two things I muſt needs ſay are wonderful in
him. 1. The diſpatch and induſtry of the for-
mer part of his life. 2. The weakneſs of the latter.

Q. Eliz. Touching the firſt, he that ſhall conſider his laborious way of ſtudy, immers'd in almoſt infinite reading and obſervation, to which the running over of innumerable books, and a vaſt multitude of men was neceſſary: his obligations to read not onely common authors, but all records, ſchemes, and papers that he could come by: his correſpondence with friends and ſtrangers, his review of his own papers (which he ſate cloſe to by ſea and land) that never paſſed him without three tranſcriptions; his reception of viſits, whether of civility, or buſineſs, or diſcourſe, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for all ſorts of perſons (his intereſt with his thrifty miſtreſs being moſt part of his penſion) in which capacity he ſet up a kinde of office of addreſs—his letters, which coſt him one day in the week: the time loſt upon his misfortunes, which made it neceſſary for him often to break his great ſeries and method of undertaking. He, I ſay, that ſhall compute, and ſum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly told without any ſtraining of the truth, or flouriſh of expreſſion, muſt be much to ſeek how a man of ſo many actions ſhould write any thing; and one of ſo many writings ſhould do any thing; and more, how one of ſo many fatall diverſions could keep up a ſteady minde for thoſe great, but exact arguments that it hath left in the world; eſpecially when there was one very difficult particular in all his compoſures, viz. that none of his diſcourſes with which his hiſtory or other books are embelliſhed, paſſed his exact hand, before the moſt knowing and moſt learned men in that faculty to which thoſe diſcourſes belonged, had debated them before him; who after their departure ſum-

med

med up all into thoſe excellent pieces now abroad Q. Eliz.
under his name, which I blame not king James
for envying, being the neareſt his own: though
I think not that learned prince of ſo low a ſpirit,
as out of an impertinent emulation to affect ſir
Walter Raleigh the leſs, for the great repute
that followed him becauſe of his pen; which be-
ing more dangerous than his ſword, I wonder
that wiſe prince indulged him, eſpecially ſince
that maſter Hampden a little before the wars was
at the charge of tranſcribing 3452 ſheets of his
manuſcripts, as the *Amanuenſis* himſelf told me,
who had his cloſe chamber, his fire and candle,
with an attendant to deliver him the originals,
and take his copies as faſt as he could write
them.

2. To the ſecond, *viz.* the weakneſs of the laſt part of his life: 1. There was not a *greater reach* in that advice of his to the queen (when ſome were for attacquing Spain one way, and ſome another) to cut off its commerce with the Indies, than there was ſhortneſs of ſpirit in truſting the moſt hopeful part of that expedition to ſir John Burroughs, when he *ſunk* under the moſt *diſaſtrous* himſelf. Yet 2. That he, when captain of the guard, warden of the cinque-ports, governour of Virginia (a place of his own diſcovery) preferments enough to ſatisfie a regular ſpirit, ſhould ſtand on termes with king James againſt the law of the land, the genius of the nation, the reſolution of the nobility, and reaſon it ſelf (that knoweth there is no cautions that hold princes, but their intereſt and nature) was a greater infirmity. But 3. That he upon the king's frown for his former indiſcretion upon him,

Q. Eliz. him, and Cobham, ſhould engage upon ſo ſhallow a treaſon (ſo improbable to hurt others, or benefit themſelves, that if ever folly was capable of the title, or pity due to innocence, theirs might claim ſo large a ſhare as not poſſible to be too ſeverely condemned, or ſlightly enough puniſhed) and that with ſuch weak and inconſiderable men, as were rather againſt the government, than for one another (Grey being a puritan, and Cobham a proteſtant) were the greateſt: but there is one particular more behind; that he could employ his reſtraint ſo well, ſhould lye under the juſtice as well as jealouſie of K. James: and knowing that princes muſt not pardon any able man that either they have wronged, or that hath wronged them, be ſo intent upon a fooliſh liberty, wherein he loſt himſelf and his in that unhappy voyage of Guiana; a voyage, that conſidering king James his inclination to the match, his own obnoxiouſneſs to that king abroad, and Cecil here for obſtructing the peace with Spain, and Gondamor's vigilance, muſt needs be as unſucceſsful, as it was diſguſtful.

Methinks he that was of ſo incomparable a dexterity in his judgment, as the *Treaſurer* grew jealous of his excellent parts, leſt he ſhould ſupplant him; of ſo quick and ready apprehenſion and conduct, that he puzzled the judges at Wincheſter: of ſo good a head-piece, that it was wiſhed then on the ſecretary of ſtate's ſhoulders: of ſo conſiderable an intereſt, that notwithſtanding his fourteen years impriſonment, princes interceded for him, the whole nation pitied him, and king James would not execute him without an apology: and to ſay no more,

of

of ſo much magnanimity, that he managed his death with ſo high and ſo religious a reſolution, as if a chriſtian had acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a chriſtian; might have gone off the world at a higher rate, but that there is an higher power governs wiſdome, as inviſibly, yet as really as wiſdome doth the world; which when I look back upon my lord of Eſſex, I call *fate*; but when from him I look forward to ſir Walter Rawleigh, I believe a *providence*. Q. Eliz.

He had a good preſence in a handſome and well-compacted perſon, a ſtrong natural wit, a better judgement, with a bold and plauſible tongue, which ſet off his parts to the beſt advantage: to theſe he had the adjuncts of a general learning; which by diligence and experience (thoſe two great tutors) was augmented to a great perfection, being an indefatigable reader, and having a very retentive memory: before his judges at Wincheſter humble, but not proſtrate; dutiful, yet not deject: to the jury affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not truſting in them, carefully perſwading them with reaſon, not diſtemperately importuning them with conjurations: rather ſhewing love of life, than fear of death; patient, but not careleſs; civil, but not ſtupid.

Obſer-

Obſervations on the Life of Thomas Sackvil, *Lord* Buckhurſt.

Lloyd. HE was bred in the Univerſity of Oxford; where he became an excellent poet, leaving both *Latine* and *Engliſh* poems of his to poſterity. Then ſtudied he law in the Temple, and took the degree of Barriſter: afterwards he travelled into forreign parts, was detained for a time a priſoner in Rome, which he revenged afterwards in the liberty of his ſpeech at the powder-traytor's tryal. When his liberty was procured for his return into England, he poſſeſſed the vaſt inheritance left him by his father, whereof in ſhort time by his magnificent prodigality he ſpent the greateſt part, till he ſeaſonably began to ſpare, growing neer to the bottom of his eſtate.

The ſtory goes, that this young gentleman coming to an alderman of London, who had gained great penny worths by his former purchaſes of him, was made (being now in the wane of his wealth) to wait the coming down of the alderman ſo long, that his generous humour being ſenſible of the incivility of ſuch attendance, reſolved to be no more beholding to wealthy pride; and preſently turned a thrifty improver of the remainder of his eſtate. But others make him, as aboveſaid, the convert of queen Elizabeth, (his couſin-german once removed) who by her fre-

frequent admonitions, diverted the torrent of his profuſion. Indeed ſhe would not know him, till he began to know himſelf, and then heaped places of honour and truſt upon him, creating him, Q. Eliz.

1. Baron of Buckhurſt in Suſſex, anno dom. 1566.

2. Sending him ambaſſador into France, anno 1571. Into the Low-Countries, anno dom. 1576.

3. Making him knight of the order of the garter, anno 1589.

4. Appointing him treaſurer of England, 1599.

He was chancellour of the Univerſity of Oxford, where he entertained queen Elizabeth with a moſt ſumptuous feaſt. He was called the ſtar-chamber-bell, ſo very flowing his invention; and therefore no wonder if his ſecretaries could not pleaſe him, being a perſon of ſo quick diſpatch, (faculties which yet run in the blood.) He took a roll of the names of all ſutors, with the date of their firſt addreſſes, and theſe in order had their hearing, ſo that a freſh-man could not leap over the head of his ſenior, except in urgent affairs of ſtate. Thus having made amends to his houſe for his miſpent time, both in increaſe of eſtate and honour, being created earl of Dorſet by king James, he died on the 19th of April, 1608.

The lord Buckhurſt was of the noble houſe of the Sackvils, and of the queen's conſanguinity: his father was that provident and wiſe man ſir Richard Sackvil, or as the people then called him, Fillſack, by reaſon of his great wealth,

Q. Eliz. and the vaſt patrimony which he left to this his ſon, whereof he ſpent in his youth the beſt part; untill the queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profuſion; he was a very fine gentleman of perſon and endowments both of art and nature. His elocution is much commended, but the excellency of his pen more; for he was a ſcholar, and a perſon of quick faculties, very facete and choice in his phraſe and ſtyle. He was wiſe and ſtout, nor was he any ways enſnared in the factions of the court, which were all his time very ſtrong. He ſtood ſtill in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queen's ſervice; and ſuch were his abilities, that ſhe received aſſidious proofs of his ſufficiency. As

1. In his embaſſie to France, whereas the queen-mother complemented him, he behaved himſelf very worthy of his miſtreſſes majeſty, and his own peerage, there [illegible] an experienced Tuſcan, Calacanti by name, to deal with that Florentine queen; Montmorancy's brother to undermine the Guiſes; and his own great parts, to grapple with old Hoſpital: he began that ſubtile piece the French match, under pretence whereof we balanced, and underſtood Europe; and Walſingham finiſhed it.

2. In his negotiations in the Low-Countries, where he watched Leiceſter and the commanders; he obſerved the ſtates, and their changeable and various intereſts, accommodating the preſent emergencies, and ſuiting their occaſions.

They that cenſure this nobleman's death conſider not beſides the black worm and the white (day and night, as the riddle is) that are gnawing conſtantly at the root of the tree of life.

There

There are many inſenſible diſeaſes, as *Apoplexies*, whoſe vapours ſuddainly extinguiſh the animal ſpirits; and apoſthumes both in the upper and middle region of man, that often drown and ſuffocate both the animal and vital, who are like embodied twins, the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other: if the animal wits fail, the vital cannot *ſubſiſt*: if the vitals periſh, the animals give over their operation: and he that judgeth ill of ſuch an act of providence, may have the ſame hand at the ſame time writing within the palace-walls of his own body, the ſame *period* to his lives earthly empire. His poſterity refuſed an apology offered in his behalf, upon this ground, that the things objected to him, were of the number of thoſe little cavils, which come with that rule not holding in great accuſations.

* *Spreta exoleſcunt, ſi iraſcare, agnita videntur.*

* If you deſpiſe little injuries, they will die away of themſelves; if you are angry at them, you ſeem to ſhew that you deſerve them.

The End of the Obſervations upon the Lives of the Stateſmen and Favourites of England in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

End of VOL. I.

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